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AUTHOR Haven, Elizabeth W.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The position of minority groups in administration, particularly in the principalship, is examined in this literature review. It examines the way many present barriers restrict qualified minority candidates from entering and progressing in the field. The review begins with a statistical picture of minority educators and then describes how institutional response to minority member underrepresentation in administration influences career paths and career aspiration, explores the difficulties minorities may face when they attain administrative positions, and cites intervention strategies designed to open the system to all qualified candidates. The review concludes with descriptions of some programs for training minority administrators and with recommendations for areas of further research. It is argued that minority principals with significant input into policy decisions and with control over the implementation of those policies can use their insights and experience to meet the educational demands of a culturally pluralistic society. (Author/IRT)

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MINORITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: THE PRINCIPALSHIP

A Literature Review

Prepared for:

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Submitted by:

JWK INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION
7617 Little River Turnpike, Suite 800
Annandale, Virginia 22003

Prepared by:

Elizabeth W. Haven, Ph.D., Principal Investigator;
Patricia Deavers Adkinson and Martha Bagley

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Preface

Minority expertise in the field of education has often been overlooked. As the schools they managed were consolidated with non-minority schools and their jobs eliminated, minorities' real contributions to education and rich experience in the field were replaced in the minds of employers by negative stereotypes based on myth. Minority educators became tokens in administration, subject to the institutional dynamics Kanter (1977) found operating in large corporations:

> The numerically dominant types control the group and its culture in enough ways to be labeled "dominants." The few of another type in a skewed group can appropriately be called "tokens." They are often treated as representative of their category, as symbols. Rather than small numbers, tokens can be solos, the only one of their kind present. However, even if there are two tokens in a skewed group, it is difficult for them to generate an alliance that can become powerful in the organization.

Informal and subtle barriers restricting employment and promotion emerge from unbalanced representation in organizations. Equal opportunity mandates without specific strategies for intervening in this informal system have limited success.

The following literature review examines the position of minority groups in administration today, with emphasis on the principalship. It examines the ways many of the barriers restrict qualified minority candidates' entry and progress in the field of education. The review begins with a statistical picture of minority educators; it describes how institutional response to their underrepresentation in administration influences career paths and aspirations; it explores the difficulties minorities may face when they attain administrative positions and it cites intervention strategies designed to open the system to all qualified candidates. The review concludes with descriptions of some programs for training minority administrators and recommended areas for further research.

Methodology

The literature search used a number of different approaches to locating information relevant to women and minorities in the principalship, such as: computer searches; contacts with national, regional and local educational organizations and research groups including member associations of principals, school boards, women's groups and minority educators; government agencies responsible for maintaining national data bases, such as the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES); and researchers identified by consultants and NIE staff associated with the project.

About 75 organizations were approached and a number of researchers provided unpublished data and drafts of reports. The names of the Review and Advisory Committee members, project consultants, NIE project staff and JWK project staff are listed in Appendix A.

The computer search examined certain indexes (Education Index, Women's Study Abstract and Social Science Citation Index), dissertation abstracts and ERIC. The descriptors "administrator" and "administration" used in conjunction with women, Black, Hispanic, Asian and Native American were most productive in the index searches as well as in the review of dissertation abstracts. Four sets of descriptors used for the ERIC data base on-line search are listed in Appendix B. Sets A, B and D identify the literature on women. Set A focuses on administration, sets B and C on minorities and women; set D is included to eliminate literature dealing with higher education. Three sets of descriptors used for an ABI Inform data base on-line search as an entry into business/management literature include the following:

- schools
  high schools
  education
- administration
  free text: school principal(s)
- minorities
  women

The material described in this study reflects national, regional and local data collected primarily in the last decade except in those cases where trend data are available from earlier comparable studies. The references selected for this review are those which were considered most useful in examining and interpreting the status of minorities in the principalship, and in administration in general.

Even though a relatively large bibliography has been assembled (Appendix C), research in it is limited in methodology and content. Shakeshaft (1979) evaluated dissertations on women in educational administration for the period 1973 through 1978 and noted that the research was primarily descriptive, using the survey method with a paper and pencil questionnaire as the primary means for data collection. The results are presented using frequencies, percentages and measures of central tendency. Topics concentrated on include: status and profile of the woman administrator, barriers to the woman in administration, attitudes of and toward the woman administrator, and organizational structure and its relationship to the woman administrator. The researchers of this document found Shakeshaft's findings to be true of literature devoted to minority men as well as those studies concerned with minority women.

Acknowledgment

The authors thank the many people who contributed their research and suggestions. Their thoughts and material were invaluable to this project which should contribute to opening the field of educational administration to all qualified educators regardless of sex and race.

Current Status of Minorities in the Principalship

Minorities historically have pursued careers in the field of education. Many attended normal schools, earned teaching certificates and became school supervisors. Despite their continued interest in the field of education, minorities began to lose positions in educational administration about 20 years ago (Abney, 1978; Coursen, 1975). Although current evidence indicates slight gains in the past four years, minorities remain underrepresented in this and in other higher level administrative positions.

Statistical Overview

National trend data showing the decline of minorities in the principalship are not available; however, several studies of minority representation in administration in various states indicate that minority administrators often lost their jobs or were demoted during school consolidations that were in response to desegregation mandates, economic constraints or both.

Coursen (1975) reports the following reductions:

- Alabama - In 1964, 134 minority principals served in secondary schools; in 1970, only 14 did.
- Delaware - Black principals employed in Delaware systems fell from 50 in 1964 to 16 in 1970.
- Kentucky - By 1970 there were only 36 black principals as compared with 350 in 1954.
- Texas - The number of black principals decreased by 600 from 1964 through 1970.
- Virginia - In 1964, 107 black principals worked in secondary schools; in 1970, there were only 16.

When Abney (1978) surveyed 174 minority and 170 nonminority educators who had been principals prior to 1964-1965 Florida school consolidations, replies indicated that many minority principals were demoted while nonminority administrators retained their positions or were promoted. Four out of five of the nonminority principals responding retained their principalships, and those who were no longer principals tended to be placed in central office positions with district-wide decision-making power. Three out of five of the minority former principals were still principals in 1971. Most of those who had lost their positions became assistant principals, classroom teachers or "special" projects central office personnel with limited decision-making power.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), an independent Federal agency, collects data on the employment status of minorities and women. Through six annual employment surveys covering private employers, apprenticeship programs, labor unions, state and local governments, elementary and secondary schools, and colleges and universities, the Commission tabulates and stores data on the ethnic, racial and sex characteristics of employees at all job levels within the reported groups.

Selected EEOC data for three years (1974, 1976 and 1978) are given in Table 1. (Note that the 1978 data are missing statistics from several large school districts. Because minorities tend to be employed in large school systems, these missing statistics could affect the percentage of minorities in administration for that year.) They show minorities making slight gains in educational administration, the smallest gain since 1974 being in the principalship (.8 percent) and the largest one for this same time period for consultants and supervisors of instruction (2.3 percent). According to the most recent data available (1978), 7.3 percent of all public school principalships are held by minority men, and 2.8 percent by minority women. Blacks are the predominant minority ethnic group represented in educational administration.

Table 1 shows that minority women in administration are most likely to be consultants and supervisors of instruction (11 percent in 1978). Staff in these positions usually advise principals and teachers on materials and teaching methods in specific school subjects, and according to Ortiz (1980), they are not on the direct promotional line in administration.

Minority men are well represented at the assistant principalship level. One position in seven was held by a minority male in 1978 (Table 1). This position and athletic directorships have gained in importance as stepping-stones to the principalship according to the most recent survey by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP, 1978). Information on other positions from which educators move into administration are discussed in the career paths chapter.

The category "administrative" positions (Table 2) merges data from the first three columns of Table 1. These trend data provide little encouragement for minorities on the administrative scene. The data in Table 2 show that although more minority women than minority men are classroom teachers, the reverse is true in administration. In 1978, 8.1 percent of the public school administrative positions were held by minority men as compared with 3.4 percent by minority women.

Table 1

Percentages of Women and of Minority Women and Minority Men by Ethnicity in Selected Administrative Positions in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1974, 1976, and 1978

Subgroups	Central Office Executive Positions			Principals			Non-Teaching Assistant Principals			Consultants/ Super. Inst.		
	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978
Percent women	14.1%	16.6%	17.5%	12.7%	13.0%	13.3%	18.5%	18.3%	22.2%	50.4%	51.6%	54.6
Percent minority women	2.3	3.0	3.2	2.2	2.6	2.8	5.1	5.4	5.4	9.3	11.0	11.0
Black women	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.4	4.7	4.8	4.7	7.8	8.7	8.3
Hispanic women	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.2	1.7	1.9
Asian women	*	0.1	0.1	*	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
Native American women	*	0.1	0.2	*	*	0.1	*	*	*	0.1	0.3	0.3
Percent minority men	5.0	5.8	5.8	7.1	7.6	7.3	12.7	13.6	13.8	4.8	5.0	5.4
Black men	3.6	3.7	3.6	5.7	5.8	5.6	11.0	11.4	11.4	3.5	3.5	3.6
Hispanic men	1.0	1.6	1.7	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.8	2.0	1.0	1.1	1.1
Asian men	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.5
Native American men	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2

* Less than .05 percent.

[1] These percentages are estimates because data are not included for several large school systems.

Note: Percentages may not add to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors.

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5) Annual Surveys, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974, 1976 and 1978 (unpublished).
Mail questionnaires sent to stratified samples of school districts with 250 or more students.

Table 2

Percentages of Women and Minorities by Sex in Administrative and Teaching Positions
(Public Schools Only)
1974, 1976 and 1978

Subgroup	Administrative Positions[1]			Secondary Teachers			Elementary Teachers		
	1974	1976	1978	1974	1976	1978	1974	1976	1978
Women	14.2%	15.2%	16.3%	45.7%	45.7%	48.6%	83.3%	83.0%	83.6%
Minority Women	2.8	3.3	3.4	5.8	6.1	5.9	11.7	12.2	11.8
Minority Men	7.6	8.2	8.1	4.3	4.4	4.2	1.7	1.8	1.7

1 Includes central office executive positions, principals and non-teaching assistant principals.

Source: Same as Table 1.

National studies in 1977 and 1978 by member associations of secondary and elementary school principals (NASSP and NAESP) surveyed random samples of principals in both public and nonpublic schools. The ethnic distribution of these principals appears in Table 3. It clearly shows more minority principals in elementary schools than in secondary schools.

Table 3

Percentages of Principals by School Level and Ethnicity
(Public and Nonpublic Schools)

Type of Principal	Nonminority	Black	Native American	Hispanic	Asian
Elementary (1978)[1]	90.7%	5.5%	2.3%	0.9%	0.6%
Secondary (1977)[2]	96.0	3.0	0.2	0.6	0.2

Sources: [1] Pharis and Zachariya, 1979.
[2] Byrne et al., 1978.

The underrepresentation of minorities in administration is most evident when comparisons are made with the proportions of minority students in schools. Since statistics for private and religious schools are sparse, these comparisons are limited to public schools. As Table 4 shows, minority students represent one-fourth of the total public school population; minority principals, however, represent only one-tenth of their group.

Table 4

Percentages of Principals Compared with Percentages of Students by Ethnicity (Public School Only)

Subgroups	Nonminority	Black	Native American	Hispanic	Asian
Principals (1978)[1]	90%	8%	*	2%	*
Students (1977)[2]	76	15	1	6	1

* Less than 0.5 percent.

Sources: [1] Same as Table 1.

[2] Office for Civil Rights, Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1976-1977, Vol II (Table III, p.x).

The employment of minority principals varies by region. Over the years, the location of minority principals changed from a heavy concentration in rural areas to a disappearance in all geographic areas, and now to a rising population in urban areas. The most recent NASSP survey (Byrne et al., 1978) found the highest percentage of minority secondary school principals in the South, where 15 percent of the nation's principals work but 38 percent of the nation's minority principals are employed. This finding may reflect the fact that prior to desegregation, black principals found the greatest number of opportunities in small rural districts in the South (Scott, 1980; Williams et al., 1979). Although many lost their positions during consolidations, administrators in higher positions were sometimes demoted to principals' positions (Williams et al., 1979). In addition, some minority principals demoted during school consolidations are currently reappearing in southern urban communities.

Another 21 percent of minority principals are located in secondary schools in the Southwest, where 9 percent of all secondary principals are located. Ortiz (1980) reports that part of this representation is due to minority teachers, especially Mexican Americans, who were promoted to principalships after the mid-1960's.

Minority secondary principals are found in Mid-Atlantic States in lesser numbers (17 percent). Of all the nation's principals, 18 percent are employed here. The Midwest follows with 15 percent of minority principals (40 percent of all principals); the West Coast contains 6 percent (6 percent of all), the Northeast 2 percent (9 percent of all), and the Intermountain West less than 1 percent (3 percent of all) (Byrne et al., 1978).

Minority secondary principals are most likely to be working in large urban school districts. The NAESP survey found 43 percent of all minority elementary principals in urban areas. The NASSP survey of 1600 secondary principals of whom 4 percent were minority revealed the following demographic distribution of secondary principals (Table 5).

Table 5

Demographic Distribution of Minority and Nonminority
Secondary School Principals
(Public and Nonpublic Schools)
1977

Category	Minority	Nonminority
City: 1,000,000 or more	19%	5%
150,000 to 999,999	23	8
25,000 to 149,999	29	15
5,000 to 24,999	8	21
Suburb of city: 150,000 or more	4	22
Town or rural: less than 5,000	16	29

Source: Byrne et al., 1978.

Table 6 shows the demographic distribution of principals by state. The table provides a detailed count of the number of principals by sex within race assembled from the 1976 EEOC annual surveys.

Table 6: MEMBERS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS BY SEX WITHIN RACE AND BY STATE - 1976

State	Nonminority Male	Minority Male	Black Male	Hispanic Male	Asian Male	American Indian Male	Nonminority Female	Minority Female	Black Female	Hispanic Female	Asian Female	American Indian Female
Alabama	879	246	244	--	--	2	164	33	33	--	--	--
Alaska	161	7	2	2	--	3	10	4	2	--	1	1
Arizona	551	69	16	51	--	2	70	11	4	6	1	--
Arkansas	700	56	52	--	--	4	128	21	21	--	--	--
California	4,887	529	190	241	51	47	758	208	140	44	19	5
Colorado	906	61	16	41	4	--	84	14	8	6	--	--
Connecticut	284	35	30	4	--	1	96	9	9	--	--	--
Delaware	151	23	22	--	--	1	17	4	4	--	--	--
Florida	1,383	224	211	12	--	1	341	88	79	8	--	1
Georgia	1,265	295	295	2	--	2	166	79	77	2	--	--
Idaho	378	--	--	--	--	--	39	--	--	--	--	--
Illinois	3,032	195	187	6	1	1	392	103	101	2	--	--
Indiana	1,782	59	54	1	1	3	103	39	37	1	--	1
Iowa	1,258	20	6	3	--	11	70	--	--	--	--	--
Kansas	1,184	35	17	6	--	12	58	7	7	--	--	--
Kentucky	1,047	22	21	1	--	--	89	18	18	--	--	--
Louisiana	893	337	334	3	--	--	150	87	84	--	1	2
Maine	440	4	--	1	--	3	46	--	--	--	--	--
Maryland	818	124	124	--	--	--	287	115	114	1	--	--
Massachusetts	1,553	28	26	2	--	--	285	20	19	1	--	--
Michigan	2,725	195	181	11	2	1	430	89	86	1	--	2
Minnesota	1,358	18	5	--	3	10	130	5	5	--	--	--
Mississippi	538	211	211	--	--	--	102	36	36	--	--	--
Missouri	1,584	110	104	4	--	2	187	44	44	--	--	--
Montana	319	4	--	1	1	2	21	--	--	--	--	--
Nebraska	489	5	5	--	--	--	93	16	9	--	--	7
Nevada	184	15	9	4	--	2	14	2	2	--	--	--
New Hampshire	300	--	--	--	--	--	28	--	--	--	--	--
New Jersey	1,638	124	114	7	3	--	189	51	51	--	--	--

Table 6 (Continued)

NUMBERS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS BY SEX WITHIN RACE AND BY STATE
1976

State	Nonminority Male	Minority Male	Black Male	Hispanic Male	Asian Male	American Indian Male	Nonminority Female	Minority Female	Black Female	Hispanic Female	Asian Female	American Indian Female
New Mexico	316	154	1	141	--	12	36	23	--	20	--	3
New York	3,309	208	141	43	3	1	463	135	117	18	--	--
North Carolina	1,475	367	349	--	--	18	152	34	34	--	--	--
North Dakota	191	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--
Ohio	3,118	137	131	3	2	1	402	101	100	--	--	1
Oklahoma	1,140	131	35	--	--	96	107	12	7	--	--	5
Oregon	647	19	4	2	1	12	62	3	2	--	1	--
Pennsylvania	2,513	121	116	3	1	1	179	49	48	--	--	1
Rhode Island	251	1	1	--	--	--	54	1	1	--	--	--
South Carolina	729	261	261	--	--	--	103	35	35	--	--	--
South Dakota	318	1	--	--	--	1	32	--	--	--	--	--
Tennessee	1,302	132	131	1	--	--	212	49	49	--	--	--
Texas	3,088	549	233	304	1	11	416	137	79	58	--	--
Utah	517	3	--	2	1	--	16	--	--	--	--	--
Vermont	149	--	--	--	--	--	16	--	--	--	--	--
Virginia	1,235	213	208	2	--	3	251	67	66	1	--	--
Washington	1,335	35	16	2	4	13	63	11	11	--	--	--
West Virginia	821	10	10	--	--	--	284	9	8	1	--	--
Wisconsin	1,487	19	17	2	--	--	164	11	11	--	--	--
Wyoming	221	1	--	1	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	57,649	5,417	4,150	909	79	279	7,[illegible]	1,780	1,558	170	23	29

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5) Annual Surveys, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974, 1976 and 1978 (unpublished).
Mail questionnaires sent to stratified samples of school districts with 250 or more students.

Profile of Minority Principals

A need exists for more research concerned with the characteristics of minority principals in order to represent adequately the diversity among groups and among individuals within those groups. The following general profile is based on a limited number of available current studies.

- Minority secondary principals usually head large urban schools (1000 or more students) with minority student populations of 20 percent or more (Byrne et al., 1978; Zindars, 1976).

- Minority women principals tend to be in elementary schools in urban areas (Pharis and Zachariya, 1979; Doughty, 1980).

- The male minority principal tends to attain his first principalship between ages 40 and 42. The female reaches her first principalship between ages 40 and 45.

- Both male and female minority secondary and elementary principals have between 12 and 20 years experience in the classroom.

- Doughty's (1980) survey of black administrators in school districts in population areas of 100,000 or more during the school year ending in 1973 revealed that black men usually attained their first principalship by age 40 and had 10 years teaching experience; black women were usually in their mid-40s to mid-50s and had 12 to 20 years of experience. Payne and Jackson's (1978) survey of black women administrators in 29 large city school systems supports Doughty's findings about the age and experience of black women entering administration. Of the 276 survey respondents and 11 interviewees, the majority were between 40 and 59 years of age and had been in their present positions for 1 to 8 years.

- Respondents to Ortiz and Venegas' (1978) survey of Chicana administrators tended to be under age 50 (85 percent). Of the 61 percent who had been teachers, 46 percent held their positions from 5 to 9 years, and 7 percent taught more than 25 years before entering administration. These women may have been younger when they attained their initial position because many entered the education profession through counseling and teacher aide positions during the mid-1960s and 1970s. Many counselors and aides took advantage of the opportunity to earn credentials while they were on the job.

- The vast majority of minority principals have earned their master's degrees. Many also have or are working toward their doctorates. The major area of concentration is educational administration (Doughty, 1977; Payne & Jackson, 1978; Ortiz & Venegas, 1978).

- Most of the respondents to Doughty's survey of black administrators in large school districts received their undergraduate degrees from predominately black institutions in the South. Well over half had earned master's degrees. They tended to have spent most of their careers in the urban North.

- Payne and Jackson's survey respondents had master's degrees (91 percent) which they had earned during the mid-1960s to early 1970s. Those with doctorates comprised 8 percent of Payne and Jackson's survey; however, an additional 10 percent were enrolled in doctoral programs in educational administration. Four in five of the respondents to Ortiz and Venegas' survey had master's degrees and 7 percent had earned doctorates; 35 percent of the master's degrees and all of the doctorates were in educational administration.

Summary

The information in this chapter shows the absence of minorities in positions of educational leadership and especially in the principalship despite a pool of qualified and experienced minority educators from which such leaders can be recruited. An examination of this research reveals a need for more penetrating analyses to determine how to offset this inequitable situation.

The following chapter sets the stage for understanding the problem. It discusses selected historical events and legislation which affected minorities and their struggle for equal educational opportunity, and it looks at changes in school organization which reduced the numbers of minority administrators.

Social Changes Affecting the Status of Minorities in Educational Administration

Much research remains to be done to know and understand the complete history of minority groups' education in the United States. The following discussion of recent research, though limited, increases understanding of the often overlooked minority educators' contributions to administration. Also, the inclusion of specific historical, political, social and legal events provides some insight into the changing role of the principalship and minorities' representation in this position.

Selected Milestones in Black Educational History

Black history shows many instances of blacks providing education for their own. Perkins (1978) notes the influence of black administrators and faculty in determining the educational objectives and practices of Quaker-sponsored black institutions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Patton (1978) points to the clandestine schools blacks operated in the 1800's, and Williams et al. (1979) trace the history of the Jeanes Supervisors whose services throughout the South during the first half of the twentieth century included maintaining and assisting rural and community schools and conducting training programs. The following specific, selected examples represent the many educational programs black educators have managed.

Black principals who managed the Quaker-sponsored Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia from 1802 to 1903, and especially Fanny Jackson Coppin, who served as its principal from 1865 to 1902, rescued that institution from near failure. They expanded its goals and curriculum to provide students with the best available liberal arts education and industrial training.

Principal Coppin was personally concerned with all phases of her students' lives, including their living, health and employment conditions. She urged her female students to maintain their independence and directed them toward specializations offering the greatest autonomy and financial rewards. Through her efforts, the school became an integral part of the national black community. Faculty and students participated in fund raising activities, and Coppin advanced the concerns of the black community throughout the nation during lectures and contacts with organizations of all sizes and affiliations.

Southern blacks managed their own education (Patton, 1978; Williams et al., 1978). Prior to the Civil War, blacks in the South operated clandestine schools; afterwards, they often financed black education through double payments (one tax for the community's white schools

and another to finance their own). Visitors to the Post-Civil War South reported on the myriad classes and school houses opened by blacks to educate themselves after emancipation.

The town of Augusta, Georgia is prominent in the history of black education. During the years following the Civil War, several schools in that town were supported by members of the free black population. In 1880, black leaders in Augusta opened Ware High School, the first publicly-supported black high school in the state.

The struggle to keep Ware High School in Augusta open led to the landmark 1899 U.S. Supreme Court decision, Cummin v. Richmond County Board of Education. When the school board threatened to close the high school, the black community sought a court injunction. The County Superior Court decided that the county could not use any money raised for education unless it provided an equal facility for blacks. The Supreme Court of Georgia reversed the county decision; the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the state court's decision. Thereafter, public support for black secondary education was limited. The black community totally financed the school's continued operation. Augusta did not publicly support another high school for blacks until 1937 (Patton, 1978).

The work of over 2500 Jeanes Supervisors and Teachers in 15 states, Africa and the Virgin Islands was another milestone in the history of black education and black community life (Williams et al., 1979). The movement began with a one million dollar endowment from Quaker Anna T. Jeanes directed toward maintaining and assisting rural, community and county schools for southern Negroes. Over 80 percent of these supervisors and teachers were black women.

The work of the Jeanes' movement started in 1908 when Virginia Randolph, a teacher in a one room school, was appointed supervisor of the schools in Henrico County, Virginia. The movement spread throughout the South and changed to coincide with the development of the educational system and the needs of the black community.

Jeanes Supervisors were free to pursue their own ideas for responding to school and community needs. In their early years (1908 through the 1920s), they often concentrated on bringing the school and the community together and raising the general standard of living. They introduced simple forms of industrial work and economics into households during home visits. They traveled extensively, becoming experts in human relations. They often had to convince nonminority citizens of the importance of their work to the entire community; they also had to convince parents and children of the value of improving the schools and the community.

During the 1920s and 1930s, as schools became larger and the separation between teachers' and principals' roles more distinct, the Jeanes Supervisors became teachers of teachers. They traveled from school to school helping with curriculum development, demonstrating new teaching techniques and conducting in-service education designed to share recent findings in the field of child growth and development. Their years of experience in human relations contributed to their expertise in student counseling. They were dedicated to the successful development of individuals.

As transportation improved, rural communities became more populated and their schools grew larger. From 1931 to 1947, the role of the Jeanes Supervisors changed to suit the school system's focus on efficient management and rapid dissemination of current information. The supervisors conducted school-community surveys, school improvement projects, in-service education programs, state and regional conferences, and school accreditations. During this period, workers founded the National Association of Jeanes Supervisors.

The Jeanes Supervisors' professional leadership roles increased from 1947 to 1966. They earned professional degrees and entered learned societies and national professional organizations in greater numbers. They attended national educational conferences and used their experience to develop and disseminate supervisory strategies for black schools. These Supervisors often coordinated their work with educational leaders in colleges and universities.

Private black colleges were important sources for black higher education. Because public secondary education was not widely available to blacks, these colleges and universities often provided black secondary students with the education necessary to meet college entrance standards. They also prepared black students for teaching and management positions in elementary, secondary and higher education. The majority of black principals earned degrees from these institutions.

Anderson (1978) reports that during the 1870's most black colleges were under the direction of the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society or the Board of Missions for the Freedman of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Black religious organizations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church also organized and controlled a number of black secondary schools and colleges. Their combined voices articulated the black community's educational policy which emphasized a liberal arts education for intellectual leadership. They also provided high caliber college manual training courses that prepared students for supervisory and highly skilled craftsmen roles in industry. The latter, however, played a subordinate role in the curriculum.

While missionary societies and black religious organizations emphasized literary and professional training to develop a black intelligentsia dedicated to political and economic equality, another movement in education promoted the Hampton College manual training model. The controversy between these two educational philosophies was the focus of the Washington-Dubois debates of the early 1900's. Anderson (1978) describes how this training model supported a conservative sociopolitical ideology advocating political disfranchisement and economic subordination of the black race.

Black students at Hampton College were trained generally for menial labor; but a number of students also received normal school certificates from the college. The Hampton idea was to train black teachers to reinforce the Hampton ideology in the wider black community. This movement met with great resistance from the black community; however, it gained support from Northern businessmen-philanthropists and Southern whites. Anderson reports that the movement gained momentum as a result of its well-organized campaign rather than because of an educational climate favoring industrial education. The growth of this movement affected black participation in leadership roles in education. This movement favored black subordination to white leadership.

Anderson also describes how the Fisk University student body thwarted industrialist-philanthropists' attempts to change the university's focus from one of developing black leadership to one of accepting the social status assigned to blacks in the South. However, the members of industrialist-controlled General Education Fund disapproved of the students' actions. They temporarily withdrew their financial support. Although they eventually restored their contributions, the amount was greatly reduced. The trustees of the Fund held a monopoly on the disbursement of philanthropic gifts to black universities, which consequently influenced to some extent the policies of the colleges they helped to support. As the missionary societies' funds dwindled and ultimately disappeared, black colleges' reliance on the General Education Fund grants increased.

Black social organizations provided another means for self-education. The importance of this alternative increased as funds for formal education decreased. Franklin (1978(b)) discusses how these groups' lectures, exhibitions, conferences and public meetings enhanced life in Philadelphia's black community from 1900 to 1930. These activities generally covered three areas: black heritage, individual and community development, and social and political advancement. They included all social classes and focused on issues of concern to the entire community. Public meetings, newspaper articles and conferences dealt with segregated public schools and job discrimination. The celebration of their heritage kept blacks informed about their history, both in the United States and in other parts of the world.

Williams (1978) reports on the work of the Michigan Avenue YMCA in Buffalo from 1922 to 1940. The YMCA, created by the efforts of the entire black community, provided numerous and diverse social and religious organizations with facilities for educational activities. The self-help emphasis and the efficiency ethic led to the creation of an education program that became an important source of racial pride for black citizens. This effort attracted a large endowment fund which guaranteed that the programs would continue. However, these organizations would not completely compensate for limited black public education.

As financial support for black education diminished, organizations sought legal support to equalize opportunities for public education. Quarles (1965) reports that decisions were made on a case by case basis until the Supreme Court decided the case of Brown v. Board of Education (346 U.S. 483) in 1954. The Brown case began with the National Association of Colored People's (NAACP) 1950 decision to file suit on behalf of children who wished to attend public schools without regard to race. It led to the Supreme Court's reversal of the Plessy V. Ferguson Decision which required separate but equal facilities. The new majority opinion asserted that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and hence deprive the segregated person of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment" (Quarles, 1965, p. 238). In 1955, the Court issued a decree to enforce this decision, calling upon school districts to establish integrated public school systems "with all deliberate speed."

Educational Efforts of Non-Black Minority Groups

The Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Native American communities also provided education for their youth. In planning their education systems, they resisted curricular models emphasizing menial labor skills. The following discussion highlights some organizational activities, some local courts' decisions and some national legislation affecting these minority groups' participation in educational management.

Mexican Americans established and managed schools in segregated systems in California and New Mexico (Carter, 1970). Mexican American World War II veterans formed a core of community activities dedicated to improving participation in the education system. Carter (1970) reports that these activists helped organize the first regional conference on the education of Spanish-speaking people, which convened in 1946. The participants supported an end to the segregation that had resulted in unequal opportunities for education, the introduction of bilingual classes in all curricula and the development of culturally pluralistic curricula.

In 1965, a National Education Association task force headed by Maria Urquides met in Tucson to develop alternative education strategies for the Spanish-speaking population. Many courts also mandated institutional responsiveness to this community and others. The Bilingual Education Act, Title VII, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) encourages educational systems to respond to the need for programs which develop and reinforce the student's self-esteem and foster pride in cultural diversity (action by the 93rd Congress, 1975). This act includes provisions for training personnel and, in conjunction with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, for employing minority teachers and administrators to manage these programs (Sinowitz, 1975).

One of several important Puerto Rican efforts was the case of Aspira of New York, Inc. v. the Board of Education of the City of New York et al. Two important court judgments in this case were concerned with requiring school faculties to be fluent in written and spoken Spanish and English, and with applying affirmative action in recruiting bilingual personnel (Sinowitz, 1975). It took until 1960 for Puerto Rican teachers to be fully licensed by the New York City Board of Examiners for administrative and teaching positions (Conogliaro, 1972). From 1930 to 1950, applicants with accents had been typically rejected. This included native Puerto Rican educators who had settled in New York. By 1948, Spanish-speaking teachers were accepted for temporary auxiliary positions. Now, with full acceptance by the system and the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, the number of administrators from this community should increase.

The Cherokees were among the first Native American tribes to establish and finance their own schools. In 1822, Sequoyah created a written language system for the Cherokee nation. The Cherokees then developed bilingual English/Cherokee schools. By 1852, they were managing a high quality school system which included many escaped and freed blacks in their tribes and schools (Task Force Five, 1976). Lack of funds often reduced tribes' ability to provide their own schools.

In the 1970s, Native Americans organized to determine their own education. Many considered tribal control of schools the only effective way to maintain identity. Their cultural approach teaches Native Americans to use tribal values to achieve success in the larger society. Those who supported integrated schools continue to demand cultural pluralism in education (Heath, 1972; Yaz, 1973).

As a result of the Indian Education Act (IEA) of 1972 (amended January 4, 1975), the number of Indian-controlled schools and public schools with curricula that respect and include Indian languages and cultural values is continually growing. This growth includes increased efforts to train and hire Native American teachers and administrators. Tonemah (1977) reports that of all efforts directed toward improving American Indian and native

Alaskan education, this Act is the most significant and far-reaching. Moley (1979) reports that public school districts which accept IEA funds are committed to promoting the development of cultural awareness as well as designing programs to attack achievement problems. Indian-controlled schools funded under Title IV of this Act increased Native American self-determination in education. These schools are completely managed by an elected board composed of Indian people from the community. The boards of these schools have united to form the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards (Task Force Five, 1976). An ever-decreasing drop-out rate and an increasing number of Native Americans attending institutions of higher education attest to the Coalition's success.

Recent Legislation Affecting Minorities' Role in Educational Administration

In addition to the legislation previously cited in the text, during the 1960s and 1970s a large body of other policy changes concerning civil rights was developed and enacted. This legislation influences minority employment in various ways. Some of these are discussed in the following list.

1964 - The Civil Rights Act of this year broadens the equal opportunity rights guaranteed by the Brown decision to include voting, employment and public accommodations, as well as public education. This Act also prohibits race and sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds (Silver, 1976; McClellan, 1964).

1965 - Executive Order Number 11246 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion or national origin in institutions with federal contracts or federal grants of $10,000 or more (Silver, 1976).

1967 - Executive Orders 11375 and 12086 amending Executive Order 11246 expand the scope of Order 11246 to include all employees. Discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex is prohibited. Religious institutions are exempt with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion or religious order to perform work for that institution. These institutions are not exempt from discrimination based on sex, color, and national origin nor from the provisions of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act. These Amendments were effective October 13, 1968 (Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1979).

1971 - Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act and Nurse Training Amendment Act, Title VII and Title VIII of the Public Services Act, prohibit discrimination in the selection of students and employees for Federally-assisted health training programs.

1971 - Revised Order No. 4, revising Executive Order 11379, requires written plans be submitted to the Department of Labor when institutions receive Federal contracts or grants of $50,000 or more and employ 50 or more staff (Silver, 1976).

1972 - The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 amends Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This amendment expands the Act to prohibit discrimination in hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training and other conditions on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex (Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1979).

1972 - The Educational Amendment of 1972 expands the Equal Pay Act of 1963 to include prohibitions against discrimination in salaries including almost all fringe benefits on the basis of sex. This amendment applies to all employees in all institutions (Project on Status and Education of Women, 1979).

1972 - Title IX of the Education Amendments as amended by the Bayh Amendments of 1974 and the Educational Amendments of 1976 prohibits discrimination against students and employees on the basis of sex. This Act includes all institutions receiving Federal monies from grants, loans or contracts (other than contracts of insurance or guaranty). Noneducational organizations receiving or benefiting from Federal financial assistance and operating education programs are included (Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1979).

1974 - The Women's Education Equity Act establishes a counsel on women's educational programs in the Office of Education. This program focuses on accelerating elimination of sex biases in education (Silver, 1976).

Efforts to improve minority education and employment opportunities have contributed to a slight increase in principalships held by some minority educators. However, others, particularly black educators, have not regained the number of positions held 20 years ago. Table 4 reveals that despite some recent positive trends, no minority group's representation in the principalship equals that of their student population. Many researchers assert that changes in the institution of education in general and the principal's

role in particular contributed to the loss of minority administrators and continue to impede their return. The following section describes some of these changes.

Administrative Changes Affecting Minority Representation

The principalship began with a head teacher's position in two-teacher schools during the early 1900s (Weldy, 1979). As student populations and building sizes grew, grade levels were identified and a teacher was assigned to each grade. The principalship developed to meet the need for planning, scheduling, coordinating and supervising as systems increased in complexity. The principal's role became a separate management position concurrent with efforts to operate schools on a more businesslike basis.

Businessmen felt that school systems were similar to corporations but were operated as cottage industries. Their bureaucratic approach to school management required establishing centralized control and supervision, differentiation of function, qualifications for position, and rules defining desirable habits and behavior patterns. The emphasis on the successful nonminority businessman as the appropriate school manager significantly influenced the number of minorities, especially minority women, in administration.

This bureaucratization of the school system contributed to the disappearance of the Jeanes Supervisors from the education scene. These professionals worked extensively over a half century to establish new facilities, improve programs, enhance the effectiveness of school personnel and establish better school-community relationships. Williams et al. (1979) assert that the experienced Jeanes Supervisor was ignored by school administrators who selected the "safe" nonminority businessman to replace her (p. 89). The Jeanes Program ended in 1968.

Many researchers assert that consolidation is the single most important reason fo the loss of minority principals. During the 1960s, states began closing minority schools and integrating minority and nonminority students into single school units. Abney (1974) notes the consequences of this method of compliance with integration legislation for black principals in Florida:

> . . . black administrators during this transition appeared to be systematically displaced, demoted or given a new position. Oftentimes the assigned position was without regard for the administrator's area of competence, interest or job satisfaction (p. 6).

Researchers examining trends in other states and communities tend to agree (Orr, 1972; Coursen, 1975; Pullington, 1976; Floyd, 1973; Zimdars, 1976). Statistics showing this drop in the number of minority principals for several states appear in Chapter 1.

Williams et al. (1979) report that two states' policies concerning school consolidation also contributed to the disappearance of Jeanes Supervisors. These policies, prevalent in southern systems, required states to consolidate minority and nonminority teachers in the allotment count for state aid for a supervisory unit and to raise the number of teachers necessary to constitute a supervisory unit. School systems which formerly employed both a minority and a nonminority supervisor to head segregated units often qualified for only one unit and one supervisor. In response to these new requirements, the minority supervisor's position was usually eliminated.

This policy began a practice of downgrading, underemploying and overlooking minority administrative personnel. The Jeanes Supervisors began to meet certification requirements for principalships and for work as classroom teachers, particularly in the field of special education. In some areas, these Supervisors' experiences and knowledge were sufficiently recognized for them to become supervisors of instruction. However, consistent with the findings of other researchers, those studying the Jeanes Supervisors note that in most cases, consolidation policies were the beginning of the deterioration of minority participation in administration in the South.

Summary

Although a large body of legislation mandating equal employment opportunity in education exists, minorities are still underrepresented in administration. The findings of the National Association of Secondary School Principals' survey (Byrne et al., 1978) show that the secondary school principalship remains clearly a nonminority, male-dominated field. The National Association of Elementary School Principals' survey (Pharis and Zachariya, 1979) finds the difference between the number of minority and nonminority elementary principals under age 35 getting even larger. The ratio of minority to nonminority principals 35 years of age or older is 1 to 9 or 11 percent. However, minorities are only 3 percent of the elementary principal population under age 35.

Despite legislative actions and programs designed to reverse the situation, and even with proof that minorities can manage their own schools, it appears that the personnel practices of the educational system still work to exclude a large number of experienced and qualified minority educators from consideration for administrative posts. Succeeding chapters in this review examine some impediments to the minority administrative candidate's success and describe some strategies to open the system to all qualified individuals.

Minorities' Aspirations for Leadership Positions in Education

Socialization, stereotyped attitudes, role models, encouragement from family, attitudes of peers, and institutional hiring and promotional processes contribute to developing and maintaining career goals. Few studies examine how these factors influence minority educators' administrative aspirations. However, a review of current literature provides some insight into the complexity of the situation and serves as a basis for further investigation.

Overview of Findings on Aspirations

Most general studies of educators' aspirations fail to identify responses for minority subgroups. Studies devoted to minority aspirations, though often inconclusive, do show some of the factors affecting minorities in their pursuit of educational careers.

Payne and Jackson's (1978) survey of the aspirations of black women administrators in 29 major cities is one such study. Of the 276 respondents and 11 interviewees, 133 indicated that they had applied for their current administrative positions on their own initiative. However, only 16 percent of the responding elementary principals aspire to the superintendency or to a secondary school principalship. The fact that 43 percent of the respondents were between 50 and 60 years old and may be thinking of retirement could have influenced this result.

Most of the 11 black women administrators interviewed in the Payne-Jackson study expressed satisfaction with their current leadership positions, but felt that due to the scarcity of minority women administrators they must seriously consider all possible promotions. In addition, those interviewed generally stated that they began their careers in education, "just wanting to be teachers, like everyone else," and that they had never expected to be administrators.

Rouse (1973) studied the aspiration levels of 40 black male principals in urban school systems. Data were collected by telephone and personal interviews and correspondence. Responses to the written survey indicated that the administrators aspired to higher positions and that they had the qualifications for promotion. During telephone conversations and meetings, all 40 participants expressed a desire for promotion. However, all but three seemed convinced that promotion was hopeless. Rouse reports that these administrators were firmly convinced that racial bias would exclude them from consideration for higher positions in administration.

When S.O. Johnson (1979) asked black administrators in Florida whether young black educators should prepare themselves to become school principals, 17 percent of the 73 principals responding replied that such preparation was "a waste of time; qualifications do not matter." Approximately two out of five principals felt that "select youth, particularly identified by

black principals, who have high frustration levels, talent and certification in more than one field should be encouraged to prepare for principalships." However, another 22 percent felt that youth with these qualifications should be encouraged only if political contacts were made before and during training. Of those 73 principals responding, 22 percent felt that candidates for principalships should aspire for other administrative positions.

As might be expected, these studies provide no single determination of the minority educator's level of aspirations toward the principalship or any other administrative position. As Kanter (1977) found in her study of the hiring and promotional processes in large corporations, aspirations depend on the individual's background and employment situation. In addition, education and age may also influence desires for advancement. Minority administrators' aspirations can be expected to vary, and these aspirations must be considered in light of the individual's environment.

Minorities may lower their career aspirations if they perceive the values of the educational system as ignoring and/or conflicting with those of their community. Heath (1972) reports that the pattern of minority students is one of potential from their entry into the public school system until they reach the sixth grade. Despite their ability, at this point many minority students begin to leave school. Although longitudinal studies need to be done to confirm this view, Heath suggests that during early adolescence, minority students become more aware of grading patterns and curricula which do not represent or include content relating to their cultural heritage. Students may feel alienated from the patterns they observe. If they continue to feel unsupported and unaccepted, they will leave school.

Little information exists concerning how minority women deal with these conflicts (Almquist, 1979). Almquist asserts that both minority women and nonminority women are affected by sex-role stereotyping beginning early in their lives. Minority women experience training which inculcates a preference for family roles over career goals; however, Almquist suggests that the "Cinderella Syndrome" may not be as strong in minority women as in nonminorities. Almquist feels that minority women may not be as likely to see their future as one of being "saved" from work outside the home by their husbands. Regardless of the strength of this view, minority women continue to be employed largely in the secondary labor market as do nonminority women, and they continue to face factors throughout their development which may limit aspirations (Almquist, 1979).

Although a high percentage of minority students major in education, their aspirations are not likely to be encouraged by the educational environment. Proportionately more blacks and Native Americans earn degrees in education than do other racial/ethnic groups. The concentration of black graduates majoring in education is even more pronounced in the 106 traditionally black institutions (NCES, 1979 (a), p. 214). As Table 7 shows, of the advanced degrees conferred in education in 1977, minority women received

Table 7

Percentages of Master's and Doctor's Degrees in All Fields of Education Awarded to Women and to Minorities Grouped by Sex Within Race 1976 and 1977

Subgroups	Master's Degree		Doctor's Degree	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Total Woman	64.6%	66.2%	33.8%	35.2%
Total Minority Women	8.7%	9.4%	4.9%	5.2%
Black Women	7.0	7.4	3.8	3.9
Hispanic Women	1.1	1.3	0.7	0.7
Native American Women	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
Asian Women	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4
Total Minority Men	4.1%	4.1%	7.3%	7.4%
Black Men	2.9	2.9	5.2	5.1
Hispanic Men	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.5
Native American Men	.1	0.2	0.4	0.3
Asian Men	.2	0.3	0.5	0.6

Note: Percentages may not add up to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics. Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex. Unpublished data. 1978 data not collected.

9 percent of the master's and 5 percent of the doctorates. Minority men received 4 percent of the master's and 7 percent of the doctorates. (Comparable data were not collected for 1978 because changes are small from year to year.)

Irvine (1978) reports that the absence of minority men and women in full professorships and administrative positions in higher education limits the number of role models available to these minority students. When aspiring minorities fail to find role models either in higher education or in administration in elementary and secondary schools, they may feel their chances of success are slim. (Higher education staffing patterns are more fully discussed in the chapter discussing minorities' career paths to the principalship.)

As Kanter found during her study, when individuals see their opportunities as limited, they tend to lower their aspirations accordingly. When individuals fail to see members of their own race and/or sex in leadership positions, they may feel excluded from these positions and, consequently focus their interests in directions which offer greater chances for success.

Douvan (1976) found that women attending women's colleges tend to have higher aspirations than those who do not. Also, Gross & Trask (1976) found that more women elementary principals tended to have completed their undergraduate work at female dominated state teachers colleges or normal schools. A similar study of minority administrators might reveal a relationship between those minority students with access to minority role models and those who aspire to administrative positions.

The representation of minorities in higher positions continues to influence educators after they enter the job market. The same cultural conflicts that influence the aspirations of young minority students may affect minority educators' entry into educational administration. Franc (1972) found this to be a significant concern of the Mexican American community. This researcher proposes that a "cultural protection program" be developed to aid the success of the minority individual and to promote the inclusion of minority concerns within the institution.

After studying the behavior of sponsor groups, Valverde (1980) reports that role models and support are indeed significant to minorities entering administration. Valverde (1976) reports that Hispanics have resisted acculturation regardless of form, and that socialization into the educational hierarchy is viewed as a form of acculturation. Valverde asserts that Mexican Americans may not seek sponsorship in districts dominated by white male sponsors. This may partially explain why most Hispanics are found in administrative positions in districts dominated by Hispanic trustees.

Contreras (1979) agrees with Valverde that, due to the organization's socialization process, Spanish-surnamed individuals who gain administrative positions in education have often been acculturated to respond in ways similar to their white male colleagues. Contreras concludes that if the education system's objective is responsiveness to the needs and desires of the community it serves, then institutional efforts

should be focused toward changing institutional norms and procedures rather than toward hiring individuals who demographically represent minority groups and socializing them into the institution's traditional norms and procedures.

According to Kanter (1977), if minorities were present in sufficient numbers to balance their representation, their power and opportunity to influence policy would increase. Therefore, problems with the "old boy network" and the administrative socialization process would be alleviated. The system would be more open and responsive to many different viewpoints.

If Valverde's observation proves true of other minorities as well as Hispanics, the increasing percentage of minority representation on school boards in big city schools may contribute to an increase in minority principals. The National School Board Association's (1979) survey of public education in urban school districts reveals that minority representation continues to rise. In 1965, 13 percent of urban school board members were minorities; in 1978, their number had increased to 31 percent. Statistics for minority women are not available; however, the percentage of women on these big city school boards increased from 22 to 42 percent in this same time period.

During her study of over 300 minority administrators in the West and Southwest, Ortiz (1980) found that minority women may lower their aspirations if they perceive that the educational system demands that they change in two ways. If administration is viewed as both unfeminine and in conflict with ethnic values, women may tend to limit their aspirations.

Because of their token representation in administration today, minorities may need more support to maintain their aspirations. Often, however, they receive less. Valverde (1980) refutes the idea that minority educators are inadequate in number, ability and aspiration. Findings from interviews with potential sponsors and observations of hiring practices indicate that, as a result of discriminatory policies within the educational system, most minority candidates experience difficulty in making the contacts that may later lead to administrative positions (Ortiz, 1975; Valverde, 1974, 1980). The most important of these influential contacts is what Doughty (1977) terms a "coach" on the school board, or what Valverde calls participation in the "sponsor-protege practice" (1974, p. 10). This concept is more fully explained in the succeeding chapter. Doughty (1977) explains the difficulty black women face in this regard:

> To successfully negotiate the management levels of the system, black women need a coach, not just a mentor. It is particularly difficult for black women to obtain needed coaching based on their dual status. They do not look like their superiors in color or sex. There are too few black men and women who hold powerful positions (p. 6).

Doughty describes two additional limits on minority aspirations. Minorities often feel isolated and alienated from other persons in the educational system. They are often scattered within a school system, making communication with other minorities in the same position difficult. In addition, their role responsibilities may allow little contact with persons at lower job levels or with superiors (Doughty, 1977).

Minority women especially feel the effects of these restrictions, with the result that many aspiring minority women are accused of dominating and psychologically castrating their male colleagues. This attitude often isolates women in general. For minority women, it may result in alienation from the men in their own minority group (Doughty, 1977).

Kanter (1977) found that many women lowered their aspirations for management because they would have to leave their peer group. This is true of any group that is represented in any field in token numbers. When minorities and women enter the administrative field they are leaving a potentially supportive group of their own race and sex.

Nonminority men have greater access to other men in the administrative hierarchy than minorities and nonminority women do. Their membership in the "old boy network" guarantees their social acceptance and access to information throughout their careers. When minorities and nonminority women were more adequately represented in educational administration, they had similar networks of their own. However, as their representation declined, these networks tended to disintegrate. The 1960s and 1970s have seen an increase in recognition of the networking process, but to date these efforts are apparently not as effective as the closed "old boy network".

In addition to exclusion from the "old boy" network, certification requirements may limit aspirations. Patterson and Frank (1979) describe how "grandfather clauses" in certification requirements have worked to limit the aspirations of the pool of experienced minority teachers who are approximately 40 years of age. These researchers assert that the eligible candidates in this age bracket pay a double penalty. Many waited for 20 years to assume administrative positions. They may feel that they are currently in a better position to achieve their goals. However, over the years, states have increased certification requirements. Their peers in administration have been exempted from these requirements on the basis of their on-the-job experience. However, if minority teachers continue to aspire to administration, they must invest additional time and money to meet certification requirements.

Patterson and Frank assert that the education system is denied the valuable contribution of these potential administrators who have gained important leadership skills through experience. They feel institutions should initiate some "Affirmative Actions for Age Peer Equity" to compensate this group of educators who "after paying a 20 years penalty for being a certain race and sex, continue to be denied ready access to leadership positions" (p. 22).

Encouragement from families, peers and supervisors is an important factor in developing and maintaining minorities' career aspirations. Many studies (Bush, 1977; Coursen, 1975; Doughty, 1977; Irwin, 1973) indicate that minorities, especially minority women, may feel unsupported by significant people within their families and communities. Family and community support are an important influence on an individual's career goals (Doughty, 1977).

Payne and Jackson's survey of black women administrators revealed that 90 percent of the married respondents reported that their husbands were supportive of their career aspirations. The researchers note that a partial explanation for such a high level of support may be that 57 percent of the married women had achieved management status prior to marriage.

Many of those responding to Payne and Jackson's study (1978) describe how their aspirations were raised by encouragement from significant people at work. Many of these administrators originally set teaching as their career goal. However, principals or other teachers recognized their leadership potential in the classroom or while they were performing extracurricular duties and encouraged them to work toward obtaining administrative credentials.

Experience in the job market may depress aspirations for administrative careers. Williams et al. (1979) report that it was difficult to recruit black educators to prepare for careers in administration after the process of school consolidation began eliminating minority supervisors in the South. Potential candidates realized their limited chances for success and focused their aspirations upon positions they were more likely to obtain.

The Jeanes Supervisor's program is one example of how the spiral of perceived limited chances for success lowered the aspirations of potential and current administrators. Those educators in the program observed the effects of consolidation and began to enter special education as teachers or to look for counseling positions. Potential Jeanes Supervisors were unwilling to spend time and money for training when their observation of the job market showed consistent decreases in minority supervisor positions. Enthusiasm for administrative careers was difficult to maintain as minority educators watched the number of Jeanes Supervisors shrink from over 500 in 1953 to 90 in 1960.

Today, minorities who aspire to the principalship still face conscious or unconscious resistance from within the educational system. Doughty (1977, 1980) studied minority administrators' employment patterns during the 1971-1972 school year. She asserts that Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) programs designed to aid minority access to employment do not provide an edge for minority candidates. The study refutes the notion that EEO programs place minority women in an especially advantageous position. These programs may provide minorities a better chance for an interview. Unfortunately, their applica-

tions are often screened out and used only as evidence of an attempt to meet Federal requirements (Doughty, 1977).

Tibbets (1979) reports that minority educators may perceive administrative positions as sex-typed or sex-and-race-typed and lower their aspirations to coincide with their perceptions. House (1973) describes how a "black plateau" may be established. While many qualified and ambitious blacks aspire to be principals, many still feel it is a futile aspiration. When positions are perceived as unattainable, they become less desirable (Kanter, 1977).

Many minorities feel that the minority candidate has little chance for appointment unless the system to which he or she is applying is in dire trouble. Then the minority is expected to be able to straighten the system out without making enemies (Doughty, 1980; Ortiz, 1980; Scott, 1980).

Specialists' positions provide the greatest chances of success for aspiring minority candidates. Ortiz (1980) reports that these positions provide a strong connection with the community, a chance for autonomy and an opportunity to make changes. However, chances for promotion into positions which lead to superintendencies are limited. Specialists may find themselves labeled as "experts" in particular areas and not be considered for promotions to positions requiring a broad range of expertise. These positions and their implications for minority educators are more fully described in the next chapter.

Summary

This chapter reveals that many variables contribute to the level of minority educators' aspirations. Although more studies of the hiring process are needed, available limited research indicates that minorities are willing to apply for positions when the system is perceived as open and supportive.

Kanter (1977) asserts that as long as a group remains a token group in an institution, the hiring and promotion procedures of the institution will not change. To increase aspirations, opportunity must be available. In order for perceptions of opportunity to be changed, minority candidates must see success as a possibility. Potential minority candidates must see minority administrators, not in token numbers, but in sufficient numbers with real rather than marginal decision-making power in the group. Employing greater numbers of minority administrators can change prevalent institutional norms and provide successful role models to raise and maintain the aspiration levels of those beginning the socialization process.

Minorities' Career Paths to Administration and the Principalship

The literature reviewed for this report suggests that an examination of institutional hiring and promotion practices may be an appropriate approach to understanding and solving the problem of minority underrepresentation in principalships. This chapter begins with an overview of recent general findings concerning principals' career paths and continues with a synopsis of studies which examine influences on minority progress at each stage in career development. Many of these studies describe institutional patterns impeding minority advancement. Intervention strategies are then suggested for effectively improving minorities' current employment situation.

Overview of Principals' Career Paths

The findings below are taken from surveys by the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP) and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP). The surveys sampled principals (2,577 elementary and 1,600 secondary school principals) in public and nonpublic schools. As in the total population, minorities are represented in small numbers in these samples: fewer than 5 percent of the secondary school principals and less than 10 percent of the elementary school principals belong to minority groups. Selected results from these studies are presented here as a frame of reference for comparing data collected specifically on minority administrators by other researchers.

- Secondary School Principals

  — Principals are waiting longer to reach this post. In 1965, most respondents reported attaining it before age 35; in 1977 most men said they were first appointed after that age, and women even later, ages 40 to 45.

  — Women have more teaching experience than men do when they enter their first principalships. Men generally taught 4 to 10 years; women usually were classroom teachers for 10 to 12 years.

  — Principals are completing more formal education. Half of the 1965 group had an M.A.; in 1977, over three-fourths of the respondents had completed work beyond the master's degree.

  — The percentage of principals majoring in social sciences increased; humanities majors decreased. Graduate work is most often done in educational administration.

- Elementary School Principals

  — Women are older than men when they attain their first appointment. Most of the men, but only one-fourth of the women, are under age 35.

  — Women have more teaching experience than men when they become principals. Four-fifths of the men taught less than 4 years; three-fifths of the women taught 10 years or more.

  — Almost every respondent had a master's degree or higher (96 percent).

Changes in the past work experiences of secondary principals since 1965 point to other career paths for prospective administrators. Byrne et al. (1978) report that in 1965 elementary principalships and guidance counselor positions were important steps to secondary school principalships. In 1977, 54 percent of the secondary principals had been secondary assistant principals; 35 percent had been secondary school athletic directors, and 26 percent had served as principals or assistant principals in junior high or middle schools.

The increase in the importance of the athletic director's position may improve minority males' but not females' chances to become principals. Athletic directorships are generally held by men. Employers may be selecting men with this background because they feel that the position of principal requires an effective disciplinarian. Women candidates for administration are perceived as being "softer" and, therefore, less able to discipline difficult students effectively. Employers, however, do not seem to have this same concern about women's ability to discipline troublesome elementary school students. Doughty and Ortiz both report that minority women tend to be found in principalships in elementary schools that the higher administration considers difficult to manage.

Experience as a non-teaching assistant principal may also help minorities in their quest for principalships. Minorities are best represented in this position: 13.8 percent of all such positions in public schools in 1978 were held by minority men and 5.4 percent by minority women (Table 1). Again, this may indicate an emphasis on the principal's role as a disciplinarian.

The decline in the importance of the elementary principalship as a step toward a secondary school principalship decreases women's opportunities for making this transition. Although women's representation has declined in both elementary and secondary school principalships, they still hold 18 percent of elementary principalships (Pharis and Zachariya, 1979). The decrease in emphasis on guidance also eliminates another route which women have used as a stepping stone to the principalship.

Minority men and women often work in special projects prior to attaining a principalship. Kanter (1977) describes how large corporations often place their token employees in "specialist" or "expert" positions prior to their entry into positions that are in the direct line of the administrative hierarchy. This placement provides an opportunity for those in power to observe the behavior of the employee and to determine whether or not the candidate is "safe" to include in the regular line of advancement. Although minority respondents to surveys indicate that these positions were important in their careers, specialists and directorships are not significant entry positions according to national findings.

After observing school operations in 31 districts in California, Texas and Arizona from 1974 through 1979, Ortiz draws the following conclusions concerning the specialist's and/or area administrator's ("expert") roles:

- The specialist's position does offer the aspiring minority teacher an entry into administration; however, these positions are separated from the rest of the organization in three ways:

  — Programs exist through special external funding.

  — Positions are temporary and dependent on continued funding.

  — Appointment to a special project is not viewed as a promotional move or as a reward for accomplishments.

- The area administrator's position provides another means of entering administration. This position does offer intense community interaction; however, the function of this role is often to exert a calming effect on the school district's ethnic community.

Ortiz reports that the directorship of a special project generally offers the greatest opportunities to minorities aspiring to administration. These central office positions offer a departure from teaching, increased interaction with adults, increased visibility among minorities throughout the district and increased visibility among those in the educational hierarchy. Directors who continue to generate and increase funds for their project can maintain autonomy and influence within the district. Because special projects are aligned with community interests, the community can provide support for their continuance.

Ortiz notes that although directors' positions may provide power under particular circumstances, they do not insure minority educators' integration within the organization. In fact, the structure of these positions within an organization may strengthen and reinforce separation. The director's power may be limited to the concerns of his/her minority group. The director may be effectively immobile when decisions affect district-wide policy.

Few longitudinal studies of minorities' career paths exist. However, a recent study by Scott (1980) examines in-depth the work experience of 7 black educators who were superintendents during the 1970s. The career paths of the woman superintendent and 2 of the 6 male superintendents are outlined below:

Superintendent #1 (Female)

1927 - year of birth
1944 - graduated high school
1945 - Northwestern University
1947 - substitute teacher, Chicago
1950 - teachers' examination, regular assignment
Series of elementary school teaching assignments until a principal encouraged her to become an administrator.
1961 - principal's examination
1963 - elementary school principalship
1964 - secondary school principalship
1967 - 1969 - full-time graduate work, University of Chicago
1970 - director of experimental school projects
1973 - high ranking officer in national association
1974 - superintendent, Washington, D.C.

Superintendent #2 (Male)

1924 - year of birth
1943 - drafted, Navy
1946 - used G.I. bill to enter Valley State College
1950 - graduated from college
Offered principalship of small school; however, went on to Columbia for master's in educational administration instead.
Returned to teaching
Attained principalship
1957 - senior high school principal
Desegregation movement cost him principalship; resigned after 11 years because he did not become principal of desegregated and consolidated high school; offered token assistant principalship instead
1968 - 1970 - officer in education association
1970 - director of administration and special services for state association of educators
1970 - superintendent, Macon, Georgia

Superintendent #3 (Male)

1928 - year of birth
1945 - Army

1948 - 1951 - used G.I. Bill to enter Miner Teachers College; transferred to New York University Music College; majored in English and elementary education
1951 - elementary teacher, Seattle
1952 - 1957 - University of Washington Graduate School
Teachers College, Columbia
Teacher, Department of Corrections, N.Y.
1957 - earned master's degree
1960 - earned Ed.D.
1961 - assistant principal, Montclair, New Jersey
1967 - 1969 - first black secondary principal in Seattle
1969 - 1971 - assistant superintendent
1971 - superintendent, Baltimore

These three career paths are representative of minority administrators' career paths during this time in the following ways:

- Subject #1 entered administration after being encouraged to do so by her supervisor when she was an elementary teacher. Subject #2 attained administrative credentials prior to his first position, and subject #3 taught elementary school only 1 year before entering graduate school. All three, however, stated that they entered higher education with teaching as their goal.

- In the narrative accompanying the career paths, the two male superintendents expressed the importance of the G.I. Bill in their decision to attend college. (Kalvelage, 1978, and Gribskov, 1980, both found the post World War II G.I. Bill to be a significant factor in the increase of all men in the field of education.)

- Subject #2 was a principal in the South whose career path was affected by school consolidation.

- Two of the three subjects were involved in administrative roles in national organizations prior to attaining superintendencies. (Subject #3 became involved in a high national position after his superintendency.)

Influences Directing Minorities' Careers Toward Administration

Potential administrators are subject to many influences that are not reflected in career sketches like those above. Some of these career influences and the effects they may have on an individual's progress are discussed in the following sections.

In recent years minorities have often been directed toward industrial training for lower level jobs which offer few opportunities for advancement. Weinberg (1977) describes how this was often true for Puerto Rican students in New York City and other minorities in other areas as well. However, recognition of this distortion of the direction of their young people's careers changed the situation. In 1950, less than 50 percent of these Puerto Rican students were directed toward academic high schools; in 1970, more than 70 percent were attending such schools.

Institutions of higher education often reinforce the limits placed on minorities' careers during their early education. The National Center for Education Statistics reports that although minority representation on faculties in institutions of higher education increased, their numbers still do not equal the proportions of minorities in the total work force or in college. Most recent statistics show that minority college enrollments increased from 6 percent in the school year ending in 1966 to 13 percent in 1976 (NCES, 1978). At least 9 in 10 faculty members belong to nonminority groups. The number and percentage of minority men and women on various levels of full-time college staffs appear in Table 8.

With few minorities on college staffs, opportunities to establish informal relationships with professors, one of the most effective means for students to establish themselves in the system, are limited. Few professors are available who can be mentors and role models to aspiring students and, as such, give them job information and recommendations not easily attainable through official channels (Irvine, 1978). These informal contacts may be difficult to establish between minority students and nonminority professors, and especially difficult between nonminority males and minority females. Details of this socialization process and how minorities are excluded from it appear later in this chapter.

Universities' staffing patterns restrict the career development of minorities in still another way. The absence of black and female administrators reinforces racial and sexual stereotypes that only white males are leaders and decision-makers. Minority males do not have race in common with existing administrators; minority females have neither sex nor race with which to identify (Irvine, 1978). The following section describes how similar employment and promotion processes affect minorities' progress after graduation.

Reasons for Minorities' Absence from Administration

Mobility and family role conflicts have been offered as reasons why minority women do not attain principalships. These are real problems for women today; however, the majority of women in administration and most minority administrators responding to surveys such as those conducted by Payne and Jackson and Doughty are married and report

Table 8

Numbers and Percentages of Full-Time Faculty in Selected Positions in Institutions of Higher Education by Sex and Ethnicity 1976

Subgroups	Total No.	Total (%)	Professors No.	Professors (%)	Associate Professors No.	Associate Professors (%)	Assistant Professors No.	Assistant Professors (%)
Women	109,818	(24.6)	9,372	(9.6)	16,805	(16.9)	34,198	(28.2)
Minority women	12,687	(2.8)	749	(0.8)	1,570	(1.6)	3,727	(3.1)
Black women	8,783	(2.0)	501	(0.5)	999	(1.0)	2,591	(2.1)
Asian women	1,889	(0.4)	128	(0.1)	271	(0.3)	590	(0.5)
Hispanic women	1,741	(0.4)	102	(0.1)	265	(0.3)	486	(0.4)
Native American women	274	(*)	18	(*)	35	(*)	60	(*)
Minority men	23,935	(5.4)	3,513	(4.3)	5,043	(5.1)	6,945	(5.7)
Black men	10,791	(2.4)	1,637	(1.7)	1,941	(1.9)	3,242	(2.7)
Asian men	7,798	(1.7)	1,087	(1.8)	2,042	(2.1)	2,203	(1.8)
Hispanic men	4,534	(1.0)	655	(0.7)	903	(0.9)	1,299	(1.1)
Native American men	812	(0.2)	134	(*)	157	(0.2)	201	(*)
Total full-time faculty	446,034		98,028		99,592		121,176	

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Note: Percentages may not add up to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors. The total column includes all full-time positions.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Condition of Education, 1978 Edition, p. 194.

that their families are supportive of their work and the adjustments needed to meet its requirements. These studies indicate that such conflicts can be resolved and should not be used to exclude women from consideration.

The reasons generally given for minorities' disappearance from administration neglect the hiring and promotion processes that minorities, as token representatives of their race or of their race and sex, confront when they desire to become administrators. These practices are subtle and often unconscious on the part of those perpetuating them. An explanation of these practices is perhaps the most effective means of understanding the situation of minorities in educational administration today and why efforts to increase their representation have not always been effective.

Since the disappearance of minority administrators during school consolidations, minorities find few role models and mentors. Role models and sponsors are two of the most important factors in career advancement (Doughty, 1980; Irvine, 1978; Kanter, 1977; Ortiz, 1980; Valverde, 1980). Valverde (1974, 1980) describes the sponsor-protege relationship which he developed from interviews with and observation of eligible sponsors. An established member of the organization adopts a potential administrator. The sponsor guides the protege along the smoothest path to promotion. Valverde offers several explanations for the traditional exclusion of minorities from this process.

- The rejection of minorities as potential proteges is often subconscious. Sponsors subconsciously seek proteges perceived to have professional abilities and personal characteristics that mirror their own. Since minorities do not look like sponsors, they are often perceived as having some personal or professional defect which eliminates them from subconscious identification. Minority women may suffer doubly during this process (Doughty, 1977, 1980). Because most sponsors are white males, minority women are often subconsciously excluded on the basis of both race and sex. If the organization fails to make a conscious effort to bring minorities into the system, the minorities' chances of adoption are slim.

- Even when candidates make conscious efforts to be selected and organizations make conscious efforts to adopt minorities, the way to the principalship may be blocked. Peer recognition and support is essential to a candidate's adoption. Peers often fail to approve persons who are culturally different, and sponsors will not select the unapproved candidate.

- If the candidate's peers grant approval, the sponsor's peers may not. If sponsors feel their peers will not approve, they will not adopt minority candidates. Sponsors want candidates with the best chances for success. Successful proteges reinforce the sponsor's position in the organization.

- If a culturally different person refuses to change his or her professional identity, acceptance will be denied. If the sponsor organization perceives a chance of compatibility between the minority individual's values and the organization's values, they may assign the candidate to a long apprenticeship to test this compatibility. This lengthy waiting period may frustrate some minority candidates. Some candidates may be side-tracked into dead-end positions.

Kanter found this same process at work in the hiring and promotion practices of large organizations.

The structure of the "good old boy" sponsorship system excludes minorities and women from promotions on the basis of their deviation from white male norms rather than on the basis of their competency. This subjective process accounts for the fact that from a large pool of minority and women teachers, proportionately few move up the career ladder into administration. Despite competency, even competency accompanied by visibility and declared aspirations, the dynamics of the sponsor group impede or block success. Without sponsorship, chances of promotion are slim (Doughty, 1977, 1980; Ortiz, 1980; Valverde, 1974, 1980).

Responses to Fox's (1975) questionnaire from 156 black public school administrators and teachers in Denver support Valverde's, Doughty's and Ortiz's assertions. The majority report that black men and women feel that racial discrimination and lack of recommendation from a supervisor are decisive factors hindering the promotion of black men and women into administrative positions.

Strategies to Increase Minority Representation in Administration

Some of the suggestions made by Johnson (1980), Schmuck (1980) and Clement (1977) for strategies which counselors can use to redirect young women's career paths early in their experience are appropriate for redirecting minority men's career paths as well.

These suggestions include:

- Using curriculum observation, consultation on curriculum development and awareness groups to provide teachers with helpful feedback on stereotyping in the classroom.

- Integrating current, appropriate career development material into the curriculum.

- Conducting awareness groups for parents, teachers, students and administrators to raise participants' consciousness of subtle biases.

- Helping students to deal with feelings of isolation on campus.

- Developing programs to bring community role models and students together.

- Making formal and explicit advice and training that is often available informally to nonminority men.

- Organizing on the local, state and national level to counteract barriers.

Coursen (1975) outlines the essential ways in which institutions must strive to include more minorities and women in the administrative career process:

- Make hiring women and minority administrators a definite priority.

- Eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment.

- Establish a clearinghouse which will provide the names of qualified minority applicants.

- Establish an active recruiting policy.

- Encourage schools of education to train more minorities for administrative jobs.

- Develop potential administrator internship programs.

Love (1979) reports on the success the Oakland Unified School District achieved in recruiting minority administrators with its 8-point Affirmative Action Plan. The district consists of 100 schools and 23 children's centers. The student composition is 68 percent black, 16 percent white, 7 percent Asian, and 7 percent Hispanic. More than 65 percent of those in principalships, assistant principalships, and dean's positions are from minority groups. The eight factors in their affirmative action program include:

1) Basic criterion for hiring and promotion is competence.

2) Diverse staff is sought to provide experiences which help students accept concept of living in a pluralistic society.

3) Plan is supported by top level administration.

4) Affirmative action officer reports directly to superintendent and works directly with all department managers.

5) An affirmative action committee composed of community members and personnel review personnel actions.

6) Accurate, up-to-date figures on minority progress are kept. If figures reveal an underrepresented group, community and professional organizations representing that group are advised.

7) Well-defined procedures exist for implementing affirmative action in: a) processing requests; b) hiring; c) assigning new employees.

8) A workable grievance procedure exists for handling all reported inequities.

Love adds that the district's affirmative action hiring plan is accompanied by efforts to eliminate racism in textbooks and tests and to develop and use culturally pluralistic curricula and techniques.

The National School Board Association's Task Force on Minority Representation on School Boards (1980) recommends the following strategies to encourage and strengthen minority participation:

- The National School Board Association should:
  - — Continue the Task Force on Minority Representation on School Boards at the regional level.
  - — Plan and execute workshops at the annual convention that stress the advantages to local educational governance of broad-based representation that includes minorities and women.
  - — Create and implement a system to monitor the progress of increased minority representation.
  - — Promote a greater involvement of minorities and women in regional activities and programs.
- The state associations should:
  - — Adopt resolutions to actively recruit minority members.
  - — Plan conventions to include workshops stressing the advantages of increasing minority membership.
  - — Support efforts that encourage and strengthen minority participation on local school boards.
  - — Actively encourage the inclusion of minorities and women on statewide and local advisory committees.
- Local school boards should:
  - — Devise strategies to overcome conditions that either exist or are perceived to exist that discourage minority participation in local school affairs.

— Take affirmative action to appoint minorities to fill vacancies on local boards.

— Recognize the concerns of minority groups.

— Provide minority groups with avenues and opportunities to have input into local school governance.

— Educate the total community to the advantages of minority representation.

Institutions should initiate and/or modify existing plans; however, history reveals that the education system is often slow to incorporate new policies or resistant to alterations to old ones (Heath, 1972). Often minorities have had to introduce programs on their own. In these cases, the strategies listed below have proven helpful. These examples were selected from many possibilities to indicate the variety of ways in which these strategies are being applied.

- Community pressure - in order for other suggested strategies to be successful, community support must be present. Burt (1975) reports that of all national, state and local efforts to achieve equal opportunity, local school boards and parent/student pressure groups were the greatest factors in placing more minorities in administrative positions in Michigan.

  Tonemah (1977) reports that the 2300 plus parent committees formed in conjunction with the Indian Education Act are a milestone in self-determined Indian education. The committees work at all levels of the education process. They participate in approving curricula and in hiring instructional and administrative personnel.

- Communications network - Doughty (1977) reports that minorities should form stronger bonds than professional titles. Minority groups have established and continue to form strong communications networks at all levels in the educational hierarchy. The following are some recent examples:

  Seminar and conferences designed to pool research, experience and insights are one means of establishing effective networks. The Hispanic Women Feminist Scholarship Conference will provide a model for such meetings. Papers presented at the meeting and generated by the meeting will be published as a textbook (Woman's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEAP), 1979).

National Women's Program Development, Inc., is compiling a Resource Directory of American Indian Women to identify experienced, qualified American Indian Women who are available to provide equity in Indian education at the national, regional, and local levels. Procedures for creating the directory will establish a network of equity advocates with maximum tribal, geographic, and perspective diversity (WEEAP, 1979).

The University Council for Educational Administration publishes a journal focused on the identification and acquisition of current, comprehensive information on minorities and women in educational administration. The purpose of Emergent Leadership: Focus on Minorities and Women in Educational Administration is to provide a print medium for exchanging information and ideas about leadership achievements and other matters of concern to all educators, but having special interest to and bearing upon minority group members and women. The publication's goal is to promote planned change benefiting traditionally excluded groups and stimulating the formation of other communication channels and networks (Statement of Purpose, 1979).

- Legal confrontation - minority individuals and groups have initiated legal procedures to overcome institutional obstacles. Glover (1974) reports that two-thirds of the respondents to questions concerning the effects of legal confrontation on the retention of black principals in West Central Georgia during school consolidations (1968-1973) attributed some impact or great impact on their continued employment to such proceedings. Those who reported little impact also reported lack of organization between community and educators as an explanation for ineffectiveness.

A community confrontation occurred in New York City where the Board of Examiners' testing and licensing policies were the most troublesome obstacle to aspiring minorities. In 1971, Boston Chance and Louis Mercado, two acting principals, charged that the tests were unrelated to job performance. The courts decided the requirements discriminated against certain groups and declared them illegal, thereby forcing a redistribution of decision-making power (Boone, 1977).

Sinowitz (1975) reports on several court cases that have called attention to institutional changes necessary to respond to community needs. Many, such as Lau v. Nichols in San Francico, Keys v. School District I in Denver, and Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education of the City of New York have focused on the need for bilingual, multicultural education.

Summary

Many influences on the career paths of minority educators may redirect their progress into channels of low or limited achievement. These influences have nothing to do with competence or aspirations; they are the result of institutional hiring and promotion practices based on negative stereotypes. Institutions must realize how these negative patterns restrict the full participation of all qualified educators; they must work rigorously to change these patterns and they must be held accountable for insuring that equal opportunity is a reality and not simply a slogan.

Minorities' Experiences in the Principalship

The preceding chapters show how minorities have been systematically excluded from the principalship and higher administrative positions despite their history of effective school management and the size of their representation in the teaching force. Many authors believe that persistant negative stereotypes have influenced employers to ignore qualified minority candidates or to hire them only for positions in "special" areas. These same negative stereotypes distort perceptions of the minority administrator's performance. Kanter found that tokens in administration are often judged on the basis of general misconceptions of their group's capabilities. Minorities are tokens in the education administrative hierarchy; therefore, they are likely to be judged on the basis of conflicting expectations rather than on demonstrated competency.

Negative stereotyping creates fears in employers. When employers believe that an individual's ability is limited to specific assignments and when they are not used to seeing that individual in other positions requiring different skills, they can develop unnecessary concerns about possible relationship problems. This is especially true if the individual is placed in other than a sex-typed or race-typed position.

Thus, the minority candidate is limited by the employer's uneasiness and misperceptions rather than by the applicant's real qualifications for an administrative position. This chapter explores some of the conflicts, misconceptions and pressures which result from persistant negative stereotyping, and suggests some steps employers can take to eliminate employment and promotion practices based on myth rather than on competence.

A minority principal in a token position faces the usual demands of the job and the additional pressures resulting from representational imbalance. No evaluation of effectiveness or leadership style can be based on race or sex. All such evaluations must consider every aspect of the individual's immediate situation, especially the representational balance in the system. The conflicts presented in the this chapter are those incurred because of minorities' token representation in educational administration. In more balanced situations, these conflicts would be alleviated or nonexistent.

Difficulties Experienced by Minority Principals

After observing the work of 350 school administrators primarily from the Southwest during the period 1974 through 1979, Ortiz (1980) found that minorities became principals through two main pathways. One group held principalships prior to the mid-1960's. They were highly trained and earned their promotions through their longevity and competence. They had been in the same districts a long time and were supported by personnel from surrounding school systems. The other group was recruited from teaching during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and they were assigned to

schools in trouble. These latter administrators were often younger and their administrative preparation was often more limited than that of their colleagues. Their appointments were often not viewed in the same way as other appointments to principalships. Their relationship to the general educational organization was often different from that of their colleagues, and their supervisors' expectations were unlike the demands placed on other nonminority principals. Most of the minority administrators Ortiz observed belong to this group. The following section describes specific experiences Ortiz attributes to this group's special status.

Minority principals in minority schools may find themselves on a "special" level in the administrative hierarchy. Minorities may find that placement in a minority school experiencing problems means that they are supervising teachers but they are not on the same organizational level as other principals in the district. Ortiz (1980) found four main factors contributed to this situation:

- Minority schools are often perceived as different from nonminority schools.
- Individuals placed in minority schools are viewed as "different" from individuals placed in other schools.
- Placement in administration in a minority school is not viewed as a reward.
- Other candidates do not actively seek appointment to principalships in minority schools.

This special hierarchical level for minority principals and their limited or nonexistent sponsorship by higher administrators may lead to their separation and isolation from other administrators in the district. This may involve exclusion from both the powerful informal "old boy" system and from the formal day-to-day conduct of business. During an interview, one principal revealed his experience, which Ortiz found typical during observations:

> The first indication I got that I wasn't going to be treated like the rest of the administrators was that they had meetings and I wasn't notified. When I inquired I was told that the meeting wasn't concerned with minority children or topics (p. 22).

When minorities are included in meetings, they are often referred to for decisions especially concerned with minority education or they are appointed to head committees dependent upon their minority expertise. Rarely are they invited to participate in district-wide activities.

Minority principals are expected, simply by virtue of their appearance, to quell unrest and restore traditional values to the school. Herbert (1974) states the problem this way:

> Frequently the minority administrator is put in flack-catching positions without the capacity to make meaningful decisions, but is expected to accept the responsibilities of programmatic failures and "keep the natives calm" (p. 562).

Other administrators may not include minority administrators in formal and informal organizations because they do not expect them to remain within the system. Therefore, they do not aid minority principals in the administrative socialization process.

When minority candidates are hired to solve a specific problem in a specific school, they may be viewed as expendable when they have done so and be pressured to resign or to return to teaching. Ortiz found that when minority administrators resist these efforts, the system may respond by increasing the workload, making schedules inconvenient, placing the individual in crowded circumstances, reorganizing the system and/or submitting an undeserved negative evaluation to the central office.

One minority male who had successfully reorganized a troubled school was told he was being returned to the teaching force. He retained his principalship by direct confrontation:

> I got up, doubled my fist, I swore up and down ... I told him in no uncertain terms that he'd better prepare the rest of his superiors for my coming (p. 24).

A female junior high school principal who had also been successful in a troubled school found that her contract was not being renewed because she made some employees unhappy. She responded:

> What did they expect? That I come in and clean up what was their accumulated garbage and not make enemies? Of course, I made enemies. I straightened out the school in two years. Now, I'm accused of being a difficult person.

The associate superintendent's response to this last example indicates a no-win situation created by belief in negative stereotypes:

> Actually, she did very well! We expected her to end up in a psychiatric ward or medical center. She did improve the school, but you see that's not normal. People of her race can't do things like that! People here just don't like or understand her (p. 24).

The situations discussed by Ortiz clearly show decisions based on negative race and/or gender stereotypes rather than on competence and contributions to the improvement of education. The associate superintendent's comment illustrates the contradictions between reality and myth that these distortions engender. Other researchers also describe consequences of these misperceptions.

Negative subordinate response to a minority principal's leadership can impede his or her effectiveness. Doughty (1977) asserts that many teachers' concepts of minorities and principals are so opposed that it seems impossible for a member of a minority to also be a principal. This attitude may be more pronounced if the minority principal is a woman. According to Doughty, the minority woman in administration may have to contend with resentment of her race, her gender, or both.

The severity of employees' negative responses depends upon all factors in the working environment. Minority women administrators may encounter severe resistance when they are isolated token supervisors. However, the respondents to Payne and Jackson's survey of minority women administrators reported that their subordinates, the majority of whom were women teachers, were their greatest source of support.

When minority administrators become supervisors of groups who have not been supervised by a minority before, the resistance may be subconscious and reveal itself in subtle, destructive ways. Mayhand and Grusky (1972) conducted an experiment on the effects of black supervision on white and black workers. A group of black and nonminority students constructed simple modules under the supervision of a black student supervisor who purposely employed close, punitive methods of supervision. The participants' behavior in the short experiment reveals a problem minority supervisors may face with a racially integrated staff.

When evaluating the experiment, all ten black "employees" expressed resentment of the supervisor, but their production output tended to increase during the experiment. Only two of the ten nonminority "employees" expressed dissatisfaction with the supervisor; however, their production output decreased. Nonminority employees displayed many visible signs of stress, but minorities showed none. This study indicates that nonminority employees may have stressful reactions to minority supervisors and may be unaware of their reaction or unwilling to express their responses to their supervisor. This can result in negative responses to a supervisor's decisions.

When nonminority supervisors place minorities in "special" administrative positions, the effectiveness of these minorities may be lessened because they perceive their supervisors as lacking trust in their competence. Supervisors may put them in positions where they can be watched in order to assure that the values of the groups and of the minority administrators do not conflict. This behavior is the manifestation of a supervisor's fear resulting from negative stereotypes and has no relationship to the minority administrator's ability.

S.O. Johnson (1977) studied 73 black principals' perceptions of their role in Florida schools. Respondents in the study expressed frustration over their supervisors' perceived lack of respect for and trust in the judgment of black principals. Johnson also found that black administrators saw themselves as capable of administering their own schools and wanted to be part of the entire system's decision-making process. They felt that some of the problems they experienced in these areas were created by their supervisors' apparent lack of trust in their ability to operate a school.

Researchers disagree on the effects of community demands upon the minority administrator. Herbert (1974) contends that the presence of an administrator with whom minorities can identify creates greater initial security. People feel that someone is listening who can understand the needs, realities and perceptions of those outside the system and who will help if at all possible. Chapman (1973) found that many times the communities' expectations are higher than any principal could meet. Communities often fail to consider the systematic constraints within which the principal operates. Herbert (1974) states:

> Minority communities expect much more of the minority administrator than he/she can provide; and in most cases demand a far faster response to their demands than those administrators have developed the capacity to deliver (p. 562).

Herbert also suggests that the minority community's expectations often intensify in proportion to the efforts they have expended to place a minority in the principalship. The community's perception of the minority administrator may conflict with that of the minority principal's supervisor. Supervisors of minority principals may expect them to exert a calming effect on minority communities. In addition to anticipating that the minority principal be its spokesperson, the minority community may expect programmatic changes and want them to be designed and completed rapidly (Herbert, 1974).

In a limited study of Spanish surnamed education administrators, Contreras (1979) reaches the tentative conclusion that although Hispanics are often caught in the middle of conflicting views, the effects of their position may have been overestimated. Contreras' findings suggest that the community's composition, the organization's structure and the individual's experience and education influence the intensity of such conflicts.

Contreras reports that the Hispanic community consists of diverse individuals with varying educational needs and desires. The few Hispanic administrators in education may have difficulty deciding exactly which "Hispanic viewpoint" they are supposed to represent. Although the educational institution is also heterogeneous, a system of traditional

rules and procedures exists to guide behavior. These guidelines are accompanied by organizational sanctions and professional peer group pressure which may neutralize the influence of personal and environmental factors on decisions.

The Contreras study also suggests that the process of attaining an administrative position reduces the intensity of community/institution role conflict. During formal education and career advancement, institutional involvement may be intense and community contact limited. Contreras suggests that minorities have been confronted with conflicting expectations before becoming administrators and have already developed methods of responding to such demands. The exception to this process may be the administrator who has moved quickly through the ranks.

Summary

As long as minorities remain underrepresented in principalships and higher administrative positions, negative destructive stereotypes will persist. To assure that employers consider minority educators on the basis of their qualifications and effectiveness rather than their ethicity, race and/or sex, a greater balance of minorities in administration must be achieved. Kanter and Stein (1980) describe the pressures on women and minorities when they are tokens in organizations and the ways employers can change institutions to relieve these pressures. These changes should be initiated and employers held accountable for immediately improving minority representation. Through these efforts stereotypes can be dispelled, and all qualified applicants given the opportunity to advance on the basis of individual merit.

Training Programs for Minority Administrators

According to a 1978 survey of 311 colleges and universities by the American Council on Education, nearly half of the doctoral and professional institutions in education offer some form of special recruitment, academic or financial aid program to benefit minority or female graduate students. In fact, 43 percent of the public institutions and 21 percent of the private institutions have at least one special financial aid program for minorities (NCES(a), p. 248).

Some of these universities and organizations have training programs designed to improve minority individuals' access to administrative positions. These programs provide academic training and, often, internships or other placements for supervised experience within school systems. In some instances, the programs' internships help to improve communication between nonminority employers and the minority prospective employee (New Mexico University, 1978; Lynch, 1973).

Both the Bilingual Education Act and the Indian Education Act mandate the development of programs to educate or re-educate teachers and administrators. Several of these programs are based on attaining a knowledge of foreign languages and cultures. Some include field experience which yields an understanding of different life styles (Jaramillo, 1975).

Although some student responses to these programs were positive and placement levels were often high, there were also negative reactions (Leitka, Warrior and Hopkins, 1975). Some students felt that the programs reinforced the nonminority system's distorted employment and promotion patterns. They felt isolated on campus and resented their perceived welfare subsistence. Many students felt that more subjects relevant to minority experiences should be included in the curriculum.

Some minorities object to the programs because there are already many qualified, educated minority candidates who are being excluded from promotional consideration. Critics of special training programs censure those that fail to prepare the few minority candidates they train for the experiences they must confront on the job. Many critics feel that such programs do little to increase minority representation or to improve minority educators' decision-making power and opportunities for advancement. Employers, not potential employees, need training to accomplish these goals.

Others feel that if these training programs are conducted in conjunction with large national educational organizations and provide an intern experience that enhances the educator's entry into the "old boy network," they will improve opportunities for minorities in educational administration. Since many of the programs listed below have

not been evaluated, no judgment of their effectiveness is attempted or implied. They are included only as examples of the kinds of programs that have been implemented for minorities seeking training.

Selected Training Programs

University of Colorado. The University of Colorado recruited, selected, and prepared black educators as candidates for administrative positions. According to the program report, participants' understanding of the overall educational system grew and they acquired administrative skills necessary to advance minority concerns within the system. Fox (1976) reports that self-esteem and confidence grew as minorities acquired the knowledge to become successful administrators. An internship provided valuable field experience and important introductions into the educational hierarchy.

Educational Administrator Training Program for Native Americans. Harvard University, Pennsylvania State University and the University of Minnesota cooperated in a program designed to prepare selected Native Americans with high leadership potential for positions in educational systems. The 1975 program report states that the majority of those entering the program had received bachelor's degrees between 1960-69 and had 5 to 8 years of work experience. In 1975, 96 of 159 participants completed the program: 88 received master's degrees; 7 completed Ed.Ds, and 1 received a Ph.D. The program focused on educational theory, management and administrative techniques for implementing change (Leitka, Warrior, & Hopkins, 1975).

Navajo Administrator Training Cooperative Education Program. This New Mexico State University program trains Native Americans for administrative positions. Eight of the program's initial graduates attained mid-level administrative positions. In addition to classroom training, the internship phase of the program provides a professional career ladder and an opportunity for students to establish important business connections. Students are visible within the system and are, therefore, more likely to be considered for administrative positions. The internships give students experience in handling systemic problems. The program has promoted emerging professional organizations on reservations (Navajo Administrator's Association), interinstitutional and inter-agency linkages sensitive to common needs, and a better understanding between the university and the Navajo people (New Mexico University, 1978).

Educational Training for a Multi-Cultural Community. A University of New Mexico program was designed to develop methods of social, cultural, and political analysis. The application of these methods was intended to produce educational administrators who are not hostile or prejudiced, but agents of educational change aware of their impact on other human beings with whom they interact. The training plan centered on a behavioral approach to educational administration. It included studies in group training, research, multicultural education, community development and commitment to change. Internships and field experience provided

the opportunity to apply classroom studies to actual administrative problems (Lynch, 1973). This program included three professional semesters: one taught in English, one in Spanish and one in both languages (Jaramillo, 1975).

The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations have both conducted administrators' training programs for minority educators. These programs have been designed and conducted through university consortiums and are closely integrated with national education organizations. Reports from participants in these programs express their satisfaction with the results (Rockefeller Foundation Report, 1974; Rosser, 1980).

San Diego Carnegie Minority and Women Administrators Training Project, 1975, San Diego University. Merino (1978) describes this project which was designed to increase the pool of minority and women administrators. It was modeled on a similar Carnegie-sponsored program that prepared Mexican-Americans in Texas for administrative positions in rural and semi-rural multicultural school districts. Both programs combined formal instruction with intensive internships. The program's goal was to develop a full-time graduate program that would lead to a Master of Arts Degree in Education in Administration and Supervision with California administrative credentials. The programs focused on developing six areas of competency: improvement of educational programs, development of personnel management, administrative leadership, school-community relations, legal questions and basic management.

Some training programs funded by foundations, universities, state and local governments, and/or grants from Federal programs such as the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEAP) provide educational opportunities especially for women seeking principalships and other administrative positions. Many of these provide intensive internship experiences and offer insights into the difficulties that minority women often encounter with the informal network system which plays such an important part in hiring and promotion activities. A few of these programs are briefly described below.

Project ICES (Internship, Certification, Equity, Leadership and Support), University of Kansas and Kansas State Department of Education, 1977-1979. Adkison (1980) reports on this model WEEAP-funded project designed to enlarge the pool of credentialed, available women administrators; develop a preparatory training and experience program, and aid participants in finding jobs through the combined resources of a state education agency, a state professional administrator's organization and a university. The results of the ICES program indicate that the use of sponsors and the establishment of networks can, in addition to increasing the number of women in administation, insure that women promoted to administration can function effectively as administrators and establish positions in critical informal networks.

American Association of School Administrators/Ford Foundation 3-day workshops for women. The Director of these workshops reports that the program provides attendees with essential strategies for upward

mobility within the informal system. The program also provides support for women in administration. Specialists in curriculum, business management and personnel visit new administrators' schools during the year and provide suggestions and technical assistance (Rosser, 1980).

Institute for Women in Educational Administration, Simmons College, Summer 1977, 1978. Lyman and Speizer (1980) describe these intensive summer institutes designed to provide women administrative candidates with the knowledge of organizations, management skills and personal understanding to progress in educational administration. Women faculty members who had powerful positions were willing to act as role models and mentors to other women desiring advancement. Male faculty members shared their knowledge of the "old boy" network. Lyman and Speizer plan to do follow-up studies charting participants' career paths. These studies will be specifically concerned with participants' birth order, child bearing status, and the relationship between age, training and advancement. The researchers also plan to evaluate the effectiveness of networks established during the training program.

Project FLAME (Female Leaders for Administration and Management in Education), Federation of North Texas Area Universities (East Texas State University, North Texas State University and Texas Woman's University). Kimmel, Harlow and Topping (1979) report on this ongoing program funded by the WEEAP. The participants were selected from full-time graduate students enrolled in one of the Federation universities. The curriculum consists of regular doctoral coursework, an additional internship, courses to promote self-awareness and understanding and three field experiences in noneducational environments to observe different managerial styles. Participants meet in group sessions and may attend conferences and workshops together. Family members are included in several activities.

Women in School Administration (WISA). Kimmel, Harlow and Topping (1979) describe this program sponsored by the Montana School Board Association and the WEEAP. The program goals include:

- Training school board members and superintendents to examine sex role stereotyping and sex bias.
- Providing technical assistance for those revising school policies to conform with equal employment opportunity regulations.
- Identifying and encouraging women with leadership skill to enter administration.
- Developing a graduate training model in school administration for women.

The University of Montana will offer the necessary academic courses, but program emphasis will be on internships.

Women and Administration Institute (WAI), University of South Florida. This program, described by Kimmel, Harlow and Topping, was designed to help alleviate the shortage of women administrators in education. Participants explored leadership roles while studying organizational behavior and sex-role socialization. The program was intended to increase the number of candidates and to assure that graduates would be positive agents for the elimination of sex stereotyping in schools.

Participants completed 15 standardized and nonstandardized testing instruments. Kimmel, Harlow and Topping write that career aspiration may be considered a main dependent variable of WAI. Participants' speculations on their career situation before and after attending WAI indicate that their attendance encouraged the women to think of themselves as capable of advancing in administrative careers. All groups had higher post-test than pretest scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale. The 1976 and 1977 groups completed job satisfaction tests. Results showed less job satisfaction upon completion of WAI than at the outset. Kimmel, Harlow and Topping feel that this is perhaps a "desirable cost" of the participants broadened reference base. "Movement up implies movement out as well" (p. 588).

A follow-up survey indicates that participants were able to define goals more clearly and precisely, that all were progressing educationally or vocationally, and that they all maintained positive attitudes toward themselves and others.

Project DELTA (Design for Equity: Leadership Training Attitudes), Wichita State University, Kansas. Funded by WEEAP, this 2-year project (1976-1978) was designed to develop a model for enhancing the entry of women into administrative leadership positions and to assure their continued mobility (Kimmel, Harlow and Topping, 1979). Workshops were attended by men and women faculty members, administrators and support personnel. Areas of concentration included leadership strategies, communication and leadership styles of men and women, decision-making strategies, leadership opportunities, career planning, organizational systems, use of power, changing roles, and social and institutional obstacles.

The project developed a battery of self-assessment instruments designed to eliminate sex role bias in roles and language. A leadership manual "Design for Equity," which includes articles on individual and institutional issues, is also being produced. This literature is expected to be published some time during the latter half of 1980.

Career Women in Education. Timpano and Knight (1976) designed a program to increase the number of women administrators on Long Island; however, their design may be applied to any school district. They offer an organizational plan and strategies for implementation. Their program includes suggestions for employers and aspirants as well. The plan also includes state, local and individual models and action plans.

Career Mobility for Women in Education Administration. The WEEA Fourth Annual Report (1979) describes this program at Auburn University designed to develop five training modules and a monograph which can be used to develop women's leadership potential. One of the program's areas of concentration will be strategies for upward mobility in administration.

Management Training Workshop for Rural Women. This Anchorage, Alaska, program is designed to develop six management training packages. Participants in the skill based workshop may receive credit from Anchorage Community College. The program will be conducted in conjunction with state agencies and commissions. Special effort will be made to recruit rural Eskimo, and Indian women participants (WEEA, 1979).

Mid-Career Women with Administrative and Managerial Responsibilities, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. This program is designed to expand and improve educational programs and activities for mid-career women with administrative and managerial responsibilities. The project will produce analyzed data concerning the psychology of women, work effectiveness and organizational barriers (WEEA, 1979).

Summary

The value of these and other special training programs has not been fully assessed. Also, more research needs to be done, especially longitudinal studies which follow the career paths of minority men and women who receive this training, to determine their effectiveness in re-establishing balanced minority representation in administration.

Research Recommendations and Observations

The principal is a key factor in determining the quality of the school program. People in these positions must reflect the diversity of the population to ensure that the educational system is responsive to that diversity. The following are some suggested areas for further research which might aid in understanding and improving minorities' status in education in general and in the principalship in particular.

- The recorded educational history of all minority groups is sparse and needs to be researched.

- Many minorities entered teaching when other fields seemed closed to them. Now that other fields appear to be opening up, will education lose these potential contributors?

- Current literature reflects the turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s. Has this turbulence subsided? If so, what effect does this change have on minority principals who were placed in schools to calm unrest?

- The effects of changing school board composition need to be examined. A National School Board Association survey (1979) reveals that the number of minorities and women on school boards has increased. Is this increase significant enough to affect administrative hiring and promotion patterns?

- Minority participation in departments of educational administration needs further examination. What proportion of these faculties are minority, and what is the distribution through the faculty ranks? What effect does this representation have on minority students' selection of majors?

- Few studies examine the special concerns of minority women. What conflicts must they resolve? What barriers do they find in their career paths? How have successful minority women administrators resolved these conflicts and overcome resistance?

Researchers examining minority representation in today's educational system seem to disagree about the system structure most conducive to minority advancement. Some feel that a time of separatism is necessary to restore minority control over the education of its youth, while others feel that establishing a representational balance throughout the hierarchy and a multicultural approach to education will provide the best means for educating all individuals.

William Yaz (1973) describes his perception of the public education system's basic assumptions:

> Too often to many prominent and influential educators, equal education means the same education without regard to cultural, racial, linguistic or ethnic differences. They assume that everyone speaks English (or must), believes in Christianity, watches television, eats the same foods ... (p. 19).

Where these assumptions lie behind administrative policy, minority principals' efforts to include the needs of all people in their schools will meet opposition (Heath, 1972). School administrators' failure to consider the importance of minority concerns contributes to a reduction in self-esteem for many minority students and increases the likelihood of their failure in school (Heath, 1972; Yaz, 1973).

As long as institutions do not employ a policy of respect for and inclusion of all viewpoints, some who make it through the system will do so by sacrificing ethnic identity. Some minorities disassociate themselves from their community, thereby depriving it of a potential spokesperson within the system and losing community support for themselves (Franc, 1972; Heath, 1972). Some ethnic communities wish to return to a period of separatism (Heath, 1972; Yaz, 1973). These communities feel they must strengthen their youths' cultural values and ethnic identity, and that they must regroup and organize to ensure that the education system is responsive to their concerns before their children, teachers and administrators reenter the system (Franc, 1972; Heath, 1972).

Yaz and Heath report that the Native American Community considers temporary separatism especially important. This community is emerging from a period of exclusion from its children's education. Many of its members feel they must have schools totally committed to Native American needs as the way to restore ethnic pride and self-esteem.

The Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards (1976) describes how the Rough Rock Demonstration School provided one such committed education environment which served as a model for the many Indian controlled schools that followed. These schools currently aim at developing community self-determination in education.

Native American communities need to establish liberating pluralism for themselves. One Native American spokesperson states their aims this way: "I think it is time that the Indian People throughout the United States are given the right to choose what their children should learn and must learn in order to preserve their tribal ways" (Heath, 1972, p. 51). Heath asserts that Native American leaders recognize the need to recreate a vibrant tribalism to strengthen the community's political force when pressing for change. These leaders feel that tribal pressure will eventually transform federal policy.

Minority-operated schools are seen by their proponents as a step toward real minority participation in the education system. Proponents feel the schools are a necessary means of overcoming a significant loss of cultural identity and a necessary method of increasing individual self-esteem while building group dignity. Once these schools create a strong sense of esteem and unification, members of the ethnic community will reintegrate with the education system. These individuals will serve as insistent spokespersons and change agents for their community's educational needs (Franc, 1972; Heath, 1972; Yaz, 1973).

Other members of minority communities feel that the problem of minority participation in the school system can be solved within the system. Coursen (1975) sees the inclusion of a greater number of minority administrators in the decision-making process as the only permanent solution to the problem. As more minority individuals enter "line" positions to promotion, negative stereotypes will be dispelled and minorities' effectiveness as change agents will improve (Doughty, 1977; Herbert, 1974; Johnson, 1974; Coursen, 1975; Epps, 1975; Bush, 1977).

Public commitment to integrate cultures rather than numbers requires an examination of and changes in goals and methods of operation (Baker, 1974; Banks & Lumm, 1974; Carter, 1970; Heath, 1972; Lynch, 1973; Yaz, 1973). More is involved than simply providing the same education without regard for cultural, racial, linguistic or ethnic differences. The challenge is to provide an education that uses these differences to broaden students' experiences and awareness. Baker (1974) states that the goals of multicultural education cannot be effective if limited to schools with ethically diverse populations. Setting instructional priorities for teaching in a culturally pluralistic school requires the development of multicultural objectives in <u>all</u> schools and for <u>all</u> children.

The effectiveness of the pluralistic approach to education depends on a wide distribution of decision-making power and a commitment and positive support from students, faculty, community and school boards. Banks and Lumm (1974) define a culturally pluralistic school as:

> a school that exerts continuing efforts toward creating an environment that is multiethnic in nature and in scope, (a school) in which every member feels that he or she is an integral part of the community and is stimulated to respond to its never-ending demands (p. 17).

The school becomes a demonstration area for the inclusion and positive utilization of all available human resources.

Minority principals with significant input into policy decisions and control over the implementation of policies use the insights gained from education and experience to meet the educational demands of a culturally pluralistic society. Such input and control, accompanied by community support and support from superiors lead to successfully functioning schools, job satisfaction for administrators and quality education for students.

APPENDIX A

List of Committee Members,
Consultants, NIE Project Officers and JWK Project Staff

Review Committee

Robert Blackburn, Senior Fellow, Graduate School of Education, University of California Berkeley, CA 94720

Judith Cochran, Assistant Professor, Education - Secondary, Matthews Education Building, North Texas State University, Denton, TX 76203

Rosie N. Doughty, Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum and Instruction, Toledo Public Schools, Toledo, OH 43608

Steven Kerr, Professor, Department of Organizational Behavior, Graduate School of Business and Administration, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90007

Luis Mercado, Principal, P.S. 75, Manhattan, New York, NY 10025

Barbara Nelson Pavan, Associate Professor, Educational Administration Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122

Harry Reynolds, Superintendent, Sequoia Union High School District, Redwood City, CA 49063

Charol Shakeshaft, Assistant Professor, Department of Educational, Administration, Hofstra University, Hampstead, NY 11550

Anthony Trujillo, Superintendent, Tamaplais Union High School District, Larkspur, CA 94939

Advisory Committee

Suzanne Howard, Educational Consultant, formerly Assistant Director, American Association of University Women, Washington, D.C. 20037

Barbara Jackson, Dean, School of Education, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD 21239

Effie Jones, Director of Minority Concerns, American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D.C. 22209

John Leeke, Professional Associate, National Education Association, Washington, D.C. 20036

Consultants

Gloria Fauth, Assistant Professor, Education Department, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22030

Judith E. Jacobs, Associate Professor, Mathematics Education, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22030

NIE Project Officers

Fritz Mulhauser, Head, School Management and Organization Studies, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208

Fannie Dawson, Senior Fellow, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208 (on leave from position of Principal, Madison Junior High School, Oakland, CA)

Ursula Pifiero, Senior Fellow, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., 20208 (on leave from position of Elementary Principal, Rochester, NY)

JWK Project Staff

Sara B. Wagner, Vice President, Human Resources Group

Elizabeth W. Haven, Director, Educational Research and Evaluation Division

Patricia Deavers Adkinson, Technical Assistant

Martha Bagley, Analyst

APPENDIX B

ERIC Descriptors

A. principals
assistant principals
supervisors
high school supervisors
elementary school supervisors
middle management
administrator qualifications
administrator role
administrator selection
administrator characteristics
Free Text: administrator(s)

B. minority group
racial factors
racial balance
minority group teachers
Spanish Americans
Puerto Ricans
Mexican Americans
Indo Chinese
Navajo
American Indians
Cubans
blacks
Free Text: Third World, Hispanic, Chicano

C. females
sex differences
sex role
sex stereotypes
Free Text: women

D. secondary schools
high schools
middle schools
elementary schools
elementary education

NOTE: "Free text" searching was used to identify these words as they appeared in titles, abstracts or descriptors.

APPENDIX C

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